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HUMAN RESOURCES

No. 41

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LABOR

PLANNING TRAINING OF SPECIALISTS FOR AGRICULTURAL REGION

Moscow PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO in Russian No 7, Jul 81 pp 96-101

[Article by V. Kushchenko, Pro-Rector of Voroshilovgrad Agricultural Institute: "Planning the Training of Specialist Training for an Agricultural Region"]

[Text] During this modern stage in communist construction, the problems concerned with training specialist personnel for various branches of the national economy and with the planning for such training are assuming greater importance. In the Summary Report of the Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress, it is pointed out: "The requirements of personnel of a particular specialty are changing as the national economy undergoes further development. And thus the system of planning the training of personnel at VUZ's must respond in an effective manner to these changes"*.

During the years of Soviet rule, a system of higher and secondary specialized educational institutes has been created throughout the country. In 1979 there were 866 VUZ's numbering 5.11 million students and 4,332 secondary specialized educational institutes containing 4.67 million students.

During the 1918-1978 period, the higher and secondary specialized educational institutes trained 38.8 million specialists, of which number 14.9 million emerged with higher educations and 23.9 million with secondary specialized educations. At the beginning of 1979, there were 26.4 million specialists working in the country's national economy, with 11.1 million having higher educations and 15.3 million -- secondary specialized educations.

In some branches of the national economy, a high level of specialists possessing higher educations has already been achieved. For example, in schools of the USSR Ministry of Education, almost 90 percent of the teachers teaching the fourth through the tenth (eleventh) grades possess higher educations. The availability of doctors per 10,000 residents in our country is the highest in the world. In 1979 it was 35.4 doctors, whereas in the FRG -- 24.5, the U.S.A. -- 21.9, France -- 17.5 and in Japan -- 15.5.

The Communist Party and Soviet Government are following a consistent policy aimed at further improving the development of the higher and secondary specialized educational

* "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, Politizdat, 1981, p 60.

schools. In 1978 there were 195 students for every 10,000 persons in our country (third place in the world).

At a number of enterprises in certain cities and regions there is a surplus of specialists for individual professions and in other areas there is an acute shortage of them. The training and distribution of specialists in our country is carried out mainly according to the branch principle. The regional plans for specialist requirements for the national economy are not developed from the standpoint of a rayon, city or oblast. The work of supplying a rayon on the whole with different types of specialists is influenced to a considerable degree by a number of objective and subjective factors.

An analysis of the movement and retention of specialists within the national economy at the rayon level makes it possible to uncover both the positive processes and negative phenomena involved in solving these problems and also to see the means for overcoming them.

The main task confronting an agricultural region is that of producing agricultural products. The work of all organizations and institutes in the region is directed towards solving this task. If there is a shortage of agricultural specialists, both the level and quality of agricultural production are directly affected. A shortage of teachers, doctors or trade, cultural or other specialists also exerts an effect, albeit neither a direct nor an immediate one, upon the production of agricultural products.

Using Belovodskiy Rayon in Voroshilovgradskaya Oblast as an example, an analysis was carried out on the degree to which specialist personnel are being made available to agricultural enterprises and organizations and also to all of the remaining organizations and institutes and an attempt was made to uncover the reasons for personnel turnover and to bring to light the positive aspects associated with the retention of specialists and raising the level of their use in the national economy. The mentioned rayon is mainly agricultural in nature and it is located 96 kilometers from the oblast center and 55 kilometers from the nearest railroad station (in the city of Starobel'sk.) Within the rayon there are 14 kolkhozes, 3 sovkhozes, 3 stud farms, a rayon Sel'khoztekhnika association, 6 construction organizations, a mixed feed plant, a motor transport enterprise and also 7 secondary, 13 8-grade and 5 elementary schools and a rural professional technical school, a central rayon hospital and seven rural medical districts, 111 trade enterprises, 64 cultural institutes and all of the rayon administrative and other institutes.

On 1 January 1980, the total requirements of all enterprises, organizations and institutes in the rayon for specialists possessing higher and secondary specialized educations amounted to 1,896 individuals. The requirement for specialists with higher educations was 839, with only 552 billets filled, that is, the requirement was satisfied by only 65.7 percent. In the case of specialists having secondary specialized educations, the figures are 1,057, 754 and 71.3 percent respectively. The degree to which the rayon is supplied with agricultural specialists having higher or secondary specialized educations is shown in Table 1.

It is apparent from Table 1 that from the standpoint of professions considerable differences exist in the availability of specialists possessing higher or secondary

TABLE 1

Requirements for Agricultural Specialists Possessing Higher Educations in Belovodskiy Rayon on 1 January 1980

Specialty	Requirements	Number on Hand	Shortage	Availability, %	Natives of Belovodskiy Rayon Studying at Agricultural Institutes		
					At Daytime Branch		Correspondence Study
					Total	At Expense of Farms	
Agronomist	47	33	14	70.2	10	6	19
Economist-organizer	49	33	16	67.3	-	-	23
Economist-accountant	61	28	33	45.9	36	17	10
Zoologist-engineer	45	27	18	60.0	22	18	11
Veterinary doctor	32	16	16	50.0	-	-	-
Mechanical engineer	117	57	60	48.7	28	17	23
Civil engineer	22	6	16	27.2	9	5	7
Electrical engineer	28	12	16	42.8	-	-	-
Total	401	212	189	52.8	105	63	93

educations. On the whole, the rayon's agricultural enterprises have been provided with 52.8 percent of the required specialists possessing higher educations and secondary specialized educations -- 59.6 percent. During the years of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, these figures must be raised considerably and particularly by means of students undertaking correspondence courses (many of whom will already by performing appropriate duties) and also students following daytime programs of study on the basis of grants issued by the farms (see Table 2).

The requirements of kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises and institutes for such specialists as scientists and junior agronomists will be satisfied during the Eleventh Five-Year Plan. At the beginning of 1980 there was a shortage of 14 agronomists with higher educations, but there were 19 correspondence course students and six grant-aided students from farms in Belovodskiy Rayon pursuing courses of study in the Agricultural Department of the Voroshilovgrad Agricultural Institute. There is a shortage of 18 junior agronomists and yet 20 individuals are undertaking correspondence courses through the Starobel'sk Sovkhoz-Technical School. This circumstance will make it possible to solve the problem. During the next few years, solutions will also be found for the problems concerned with zoological engineers and zootechnicians. The overall requirement for these specialists was 52 individuals and yet 58 people are taking correspondence courses or pursuing daytime study programs on the basis of grants provided by farms.

The rayon's farms and organizations are experiencing a very severe shortage of mechanical engineers and technician-mechanics. By the end of the Tenth Five-Year

TABLE 2

Agricultural Requirements for Specialists Having Secondary Specialized Educations in Belovodskiy Rayon

Specialty	Requirements	Number on Hand	Shortage	Availability, %	Natives of Belovodskiy Rayon Studying at Secondary Specialized Educational Institutes		
					At Daytime Branch		Correspondence Dtudy
					Total	At Expense of Farms	
Agronomist (junior)	50	32	18	64.0	5	-	20
Bookkeeper-accountant	101	75	26	74.2	18	7	10
Zootechnician	83	49	34	59.0	21	9	29
Veterinary assistant	104	53	51	51.0	18	4	-
Technician-mechanic	107	61	46	57.0	11	8	43
Electrician	31	14	17	45.1	-	-	-
Sanitary engineer	8	1	7	12.5	-	-	-
Construction technician	516	308	208	59.6	73	28	102

Plan, there should have been 224 of them in the rayon and taking into account the increased amount of equipment being made available to agriculture, the requirements for these specialists will obviously increase. On 1 January 1981, there was a shortage of 100 of these specialists. In the correspondence course branch and on the basis of grants provided by kolkhozes and sovkhozes, 83 individuals are pursuing courses of study at the Voroshilovgrad Agricultural Institute and at the Starobel'sk Sovkhoz Technical School. The rayon's agricultural enterprises require 75 more specialists such as economist-organizers, economist-accountants and junior bookkeepers; during the years of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, 60 individuals must complete such training.

A very bad situation exists in the case of veterinary doctors and assistants. The rayon's farms require 136 such specialists and yet only 69 are available (that is, their requirements are being met by only 50.6 percent). Nor is the rayon expecting to receive many of these specialists during the next few years. The training of veterinary doctors is being carried out at the Khar'kov Veterinary Institute. During the years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, not one individual was sent off to the veterinary institute for training.

In 1980 the rayon's farms had a requirement for 59 engineers and electricians and only 26 were available. In the case of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, not one individual is studying this specialty in a daytime program at either technical schools or VUZ's and only seven individuals are undertaking correspondence courses. The rayon requires 62 civil engineers, construction technicians and sanitary

engineers and only 30 are available. Five farm specialists are pursuing courses of study in the construction faculty of the Voroshilovgrad Agricultural Institute and seven individuals are taking correspondence courses.

Based upon the data cited, it would appear that during the next few years the requirements for individual agricultural specialists will practically be satisfied for the mentioned rayon; in the case of other rayons, the situation is changing for the better only slowly. We are of the opinion that this is caused partly by the fact that the farms are located at some distance from the higher and secondary educational institutes which train veterinary doctors, engineers and electricians for agriculture. Still another cause is the insufficient professional orientation of the graduates of schools towards these specialties. But the principal cause is the absence of planning for the training of specialists for the rayon on the whole, both for agriculture directly and for the various organizations and institutes. Not one of the rayon organizations is preparing plans for supplying subordinate organizations and institutes with cadres of specialists for an extended period (10-15 years), nor are the causes of the weak retention of specialists being analyzed.

Throughout the rayon as a whole, no data is available on the specialists required for the agricultural enterprises. In the case of the kolkhozes, this data is gathered at the agricultural administration and for the three sovkhozes and three stud farms it is located in trusts located far beyond the borders of the rayon. At the Sel'khoztekhnika Association, the motor transport enterprise and the professional-technical school where many agricultural specialists are working, the data can be obtained only in the personnel departments of these institutes. Similar situations are being observed in the case of a number of other specialties.

Kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other state cost accounting enterprises have been authorized to send kolkhoz members and workers to VUZ's and technical schools for study purposes and to provide them with grants. Following the completion of their training, the young specialists are sent off to work at these same enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes. On the whole, this form of specialist training tends to strengthen the link between the higher and secondary specialized educational institutes on the one hand and the enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes on the other and also the retention of the young specialists at these facilities.

Quite often, one observes a situation in which a farm which is in dire need of specialists fails to send any of its workers off for training. In addition, the farms often reject young specialists even after having submitted requests for them. At the same time, the VUZ's are not satisfying fully the requests for specialists being received from the enterprises and farms.

Nor are there any future plans for supplying the rayon as a whole with teachers, doctors or trade, cultural and other specialists. Each year the rayon organizations submit requests to the oblast organizations asking for the specialists they are deficient in.

At the beginning of the 1979/80 academic year, there were only 209 teachers assigned to schools in the rayon, when actually 292 were required (see Table 3).

Table 3 reveals that the degree to which the rayon's schools are supplied with labor instruction and foreign language teachers is lowest. Naturally, the training process

TABLE 3

Availability of Teachers at Schools in Belovodskiy Rayon on 1 September 1979

Specialty	Requirements	Number On Hand	Shortage	Availability, in %
Teachers:				
Russian language and literature	39	26	13	66.6
Ukrainian language and literature	40	29	11	72.5
History	24	20	4	83.3
Physics	20	15	5	75.0
Mathematics	44	35	9	79.5
Chemistry	7	7	-	100.0
Biology and chemistry	24	19	5	79.1
Geography	20	20	-	100.0
Labor instruction	9	1	8	11.1
Physical training	18	14	4	77.7
Elementary classes	27	18	9	66.6
Foreign language	20	5	15	25.0
Total	292	209	83	71.5

does not cease -- through the teaching of these subjects by historians, geographers and so forth. However, it will not be possible during the next few years to solve the teacher shortage problem, particularly with regard to foreign language teachers, since the oblast as a whole has had its requirements for such specialists satisfied by only 85.5 percent.

In 1979, of the number of workers attached to schools and childrens' pre-school institutes throughout the rayon, 42 individuals were undertaking correspondence courses at pedagogical institutes. Of this number, not one individual was pursuing the specialty of teacher of foreign language or labor instruction. However, the History Faculty graduated 13 individuals, the Geographic Faculty -- 9 and the Russian Language and Literature Department -- 12 individuals. On 1 September of this same year, there was a shortage of only four historians at schools throughout the rayon. During the years of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, three individuals will reach retirement age. In connection with a reduction in the contingent of students, the requirement for history teachers will decrease by two individuals and hence eight individuals will not be employed immediately in their specialty.

In 1979, 70 students, the parents of whom reside in Belovodskiy Rayon, followed programs of study in the daytime branch at the Voroshilovgrad Pedagogical Institute. In all, 2,953 teachers were trained in the daytime branch at this institute during the 1976-1980 period and of this number 1,470 individuals (49.8 percent) were assigned to work within the oblast. During the years mentioned, 1,860 doctors were trained at the Voroshilovgrad Medical Institute, with 1,385 of them (74.4 percent) being assigned to medical institutes throughout the oblast. The Voroshilovgrad Agricultural Institute trained 2,072 agricultural specialists and of this number 870 individuals (41.9 percent) were assigned to farms within the oblast.

Based upon the data cited above, it is apparent that during the past few years from 40 to 70 percent of the graduates of the mentioned VUS's have been assigned immediately within their own oblast. Actually, a greater number remain to work there, since after 3-5 years have elapsed a large number of specialists previously sent to work in other oblasts return and find employment nearby or at the place of residence of their parents. Practically all those who complete VUZ study programs in the correspondence course or evening branches accept employment at their place of residence, within their own rayon or city.

During the past few years, a great amount of turnover in specialists has been observed throughout the national economy. We are of the opinion that this is explained for the most part by the untimely provision of housing for the young specialists. Let us examine the reasons for this turnover in specialists in Belovodskiy Rayon. During the 1970-1980 period, the rayon received 733 specialists of the national economy. Of this number there were 153 agricultural specialists with higher educations, 217 with secondary specialized educations, 108 teachers, 44 doctors, 116 secondary medical workers, 42 trade specialists and 51 for cultural and educational institutes. During these years, 195 individuals retired, 31 died and 273 able-bodied individuals departed the rayon. An analysis of the reasons for specialists departing the rayon revealed that, in addition to the untimely provision of housing, a great role was played here in the case of a majority of the individuals involved by the desire to live and work closer to their parents and this helps to solve, in the best possible way, the problem of housing arrangements.

A study has revealed that there are 530 specialists who have worked in the rayon for 10 or more years, that 344 of this number were born in Belovodskiy Rayon and that 113 have husbands or wives who are natives of the rayon. For example, all 108 of the agricultural specialists who have worked in the rayon for more than 10 years are residents of it. It is typical that 220 of the 344 specialists are residents of the rayon who have studied in the daytime branch and who have worked in the rayon for more than 10 years. But only 53 individuals were actually assigned to the given rayon, with the remainder coming from the places of their initial assignments or following a change in their place of work.

The desire on the part of residents of the rayon to remain and work in the area and that of non-residents -- to leave the area, is clearly apparent in the following data. In 1976, 20 scientist-agronomists were assigned to Belovodskiy Rayon, of which number 15 were residents of the rayon. At the beginning of 1980, 15 individuals remained in the rayon, that is, all of the local residents: during this same year, 18 teachers were assigned here. During 4 years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, 11 individuals departed the rayon -- natives of other areas. During the years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, 10 doctors departed the rayon -- nine of them natives of other oblasts.

During the 1976-1980 period, 55 agricultural specialists came to the rayon of their own accord (49 of them were natives of this rayon), 37 teachers (28 of whom had relatives living in the rayon) and 11 doctors (10 of whom had parents who are local residents).

The following example testifies to the great economic disadvantages accruing from the movement of specialists. At the beginning of October 1980, 13,384 individuals

were occupying posts as leaders and specialists at kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Voroshilovgradskaya Oblast. Of this number, 6,858 individuals had worked at a particular enterprise less than 5 years. During the years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, the oblast received approximately 2,000 graduates of daytime branches of agricultural VUZ's and technical schools. Those who finish VUZ's on a correspondence course basis and remain to work on their farms will have a length of service at the given enterprise of more than 5 years. Hence, it can be assumed that during the past 5 years more than 4,000 specialists changed their place of residence and work.

Based upon data obtained from observations, a specialist having a length of service in excess of 5 years requires from 6 months to a year to master his new tasks upon changing to a new place of work. The larger the collective of workers or kolkhoz members, the greater will be the amount of time required for studying it and also for determining the intra-farm contacts, the logistical status of the new sector and other problems. Hence the conclusion is drawn that the frequent changing of specialists and their movements from one farm to another, over an extended period of time tend to lower the indicators for the activities of a large number of production subunits.

During the January-March 1980 period, the author, jointly with representatives of Belovodskiy Rayon, interrogated a group of students -- natives of this rayon -- who were pursuing courses of study in the daytime branches of the agricultural, pedagogical and medical institutes of Voroshilovgrad. To the question as to where they wished to be sent following the completion of their training, 93 percent of the students expressed a desire to work in their own rayon. They justified their desire by maintaining that it was easier for them to obtain housing. In their own rayons, they are known well and they also know the people with whom they will be working and the conditions under which they will work. Many parents were also questioned, the parents of students studying at these institutes and the overwhelming majority of them also expressed the desire to have their children work nearby upon the completion of their training.

Experience has been accumulated at a number of VUZ's throughout the country in the special purpose training of specialists for individual regions. Since 1966, special purpose training has been provided at the Voroshilovgrad Pedagogical Institute for teachers of the Russian language and literature, for young men and women from the Uzbek SSR. Twenty five individuals are accepted for training each year. Of those who graduated from the institute during the 1970-1980 period, all left to go work in Uzbekistan.

An examination of the contingent of students at higher and secondary specialized educational institutes reveals that an overwhelming majority of the students are residents of those oblasts and cities in which educational institutes are located. For example, residents of Voroshilovgradskaya Oblast constitute more than 76 percent of the student body at the pedagogical institute, at the agricultural institute -- 59 percent and at the medical institute -- 50 percent. Of 4,720 students at the Voroshilovgrad Machine Building Institute, 2,575 reside in Voroshilovgrad. Naturally, following the completion of their training, many of them will strive to remain and work in their own oblast.

The long range plans (for 10 years) in which consideration must be given to the specialist requirements for all enterprises, organizations and institutes in the

rayon (city, oblast), the early professional orientation, selection and subsequently the more intense preparation for entry into higher and secondary specialized educational institutes, the special purpose trend towards training in conformity with the requirements for different specialists and constant control over the course of training on the part of the rayon or municipal organizations, will in our opinion create a vital link between a rayon (city) and the educational institutes engaged in training personnel for them. Mutual responsibility on the part of the leaders of a rayon (city) and the educational institutes will appear: in the case of the former -- for the quality and level of knowledge of the young people sent for training and the latter -- for the quality of the knowledge obtained by the students at the educational institute. Definite knowledge as to their future place of work will motivate students into increasing their knowledge in a more purposeful manner.

Certainly, such an approach to planning the training and distribution of specialist personnel is not intended to deprive branch ministries of the possibility of sending specialists to individual weakly populated regions, for example to the new regions of the north, to the Far East and other areas. In the future, the ministries must direct the training and distribution of specialists on a centralized basis. Planning for the distribution of specialists should commence with the establishment at VUZ's and technical schools of special purpose areas for definite oblasts, rayons and cities.

Taking into account the constant increase in the number of specialists, their proper distribution among oblasts and rayons will promote improved utilization of them throughout the entire national economy.

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EXPENDITURES FOR TRAINING AGRICULTURAL PERSONNEL

Moscow FINANSY SSSR in Russian No 6, Jun 81 pp 16-19

/Article by K. I. Subbotina, candidate in economic sciences: "Expenditures for Training Personnel in Mass Occupations for Agriculture"/

/Text/ Solving the problem of the general intensification of agricultural production, converting it to an industrial basis, and increasing labor productivity present new demands on personnel in the rural areas. "Agriculture today," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized, "needs not simply working hands but highly skilled specialists who know how to use up-to-date equipment, genuine masters of their trades."[1]

Providing agriculture with personnel depends on their system of training. At the July (1978) Plenum of the CPSU CC Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted that an extensive system for training machine operators had been created in the country but that, unfortunately, far from all of them were being retained on kolkhozes and sovkhozes: "We have constantly been concerned with the problems of training and retaining machine-operator personnel, but we have yet to find a complete solution."[2] Hence we are confronted with the task of improving the training of personnel in mass occupations for agriculture.

At present agricultural production is experiencing a shortage of machine operators, livestock breeders, field-crop growers, and specialists in other mass occupations. Meanwhile, large amounts of money are expended every year on the training of personnel for sovkhozes and kolkhozes; these amounts are increasing from year to year. Thus, in 1979 more than one billion rubles were spent for this purpose, or 1.6 times more than in 1973. However, these outlays of funds have not provided the necessary end result, inasmuch as the personnel being trained show a poor rate of retention in agriculture. Their turnover may be explained by a whole series of causes and primarily by the fact that far from everywhere are they still assured of a rational labor schedule and material motivation, well-arranged housing for specialists, the necessary operation of cultural-educational institutions, etc. At the same time the very organization of their training exerts a great influence on the retention of personnel.

At present the needs of agriculture for skilled personnel are being satisfied primarily by means of training them in kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural organizations. Thus, in 1979 some 831,000 machine operators and specialists in other mass occupations, or 58 percent of the total number of those trained, were given on-the-job training.[3] Furthermore, it is only on the job that an increase

in workers' skills is carried out, an increase which is so necessary under the conditions of progress in agricultural science and technology. For example, in 1979 on kolkhozes alone instruction was carried out which increased the skills of 2,758 persons.[4]

There are certain shortcomings, however, in organizing the training of mass occupations on the job. These include, in the first place, its being scattered throughout a number of departments as well as the use of diverse forms of instruction. For example, for the RSFSR Ministry of Agriculture working personnel are being trained by, in addition to their own system, organizations of RSFSR Goskomsel'khoztekhnika /State Committee for Agricultural Equipment/, DOSAAF, plants of the USSR Ministry of Agricultural Machine Building, organizations of the USSR Ministry of Automotive Transport, USSR Ministry of Trade, and others. The forms of training are not the same in the various departments (curricular-course combines, schools of practical instruction, varied courses, individual instruction, etc). Such a diversity of instructional forms and departments does not permit the Union-republic ministries of agriculture to achieve a high quality of instruction with optimum outlays of funds nor to monitor the educational process in the necessary manner.

In order to improve the quality of training and increase the skills of the working personnel, as well as to make the most effective possible use of material, labor, and financial resources, it is necessary, in our opinion, to concentrate this training in one department, to be precise, within the system of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, and to conduct it basically by means of the kolkhozes' and sovkhozes' own funds on cost-accounting principles. Such a solution to this problem has become possible because of the objective conditions which have been created during recent years as a result of improvements in the system of administering agriculture, in particular, the formation of production associations, inter-farm organizations with the extensive introduction of cost-accounting principles into their activities. Moreover, the need has become increasingly clear for the active participation of kolkhozes and sovkhozes in on-the-job instruction of the seniors in the rural secondary schools within the general, mandatory secondary education of youth.

Already at the present time the principal functions with regard to training working personnel are being carried out by the administrative organs of agriculture. The ministries, production associations, enterprises, and organizations, in accordance with the Model Statute concerning the on-the-job vocational training of workers, determine the needs for the training and re-training of workers.[5] Herein they proceed from the current and future needs of production, the task of increasing its effectiveness and work quality, and the goals of the groups' social development. The administrative organs of agriculture are organizing branch systems for the on-the-job, vocational training of workers, providing for the creation of an educational-production center, and determining outlays for the on-the-job, vocational training of workers. The successful execution by the administrative organs of agriculture of all these functions allows us to organize the kind of training of working personnel which will respond effectively and flexibly to the requirements of present-day production with regard to vocational composition, quality, and time periods of instruction, as well as the most rational and economical utilization of material, labor, and financial resources.

Analysis of the experience in training personnel in agricultural-type mass occupations has shown that it is being conducted in a number of krays, oblasts, and rayons in two stages. In the first stage they are carrying out an elementary on-the-job training of the seniors at rural, secondary, general-education schools with the direct participation of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. In the second stage they are conducting a more thorough on-the-job training, including instruction in new occupations, re-training, and a regular upgrading of the skills of kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers. Such instruction is engaged in by educational-course combines, training points, and their branches, which are subordinate to the agricultural organs.

The on-the-job training of secondary-school seniors in mass occupations for agriculture (drivers, tractor-drivers, combine-operators, livestock-breeders, etc.) is being carried out in accordance with a number of decrees issued by the leadership organs, in particular, by the decree of the CPSU CC and the USSR Council of Ministers, dated 2 July 1973, and entitled "On Measures for Further Improving Working Conditions at Rural, General-Education Schools," and the decree dated 22 December 1977, entitled "On Further Improving the Instruction and Education of Pupils at General-Education Schools and Training Them for Work." It has been permitted to allocate certain definite funds to enterprises and organizations for the purposes of labor instruction and education, as well as training pupils for work in agriculture and other branches of production. Base enterprises and organizations are obligated to create an educational-material base: educational-production combines, workshops, studies, and workrooms in the schools. In order to organize the socially useful and productive labor of the pupils, these enterprises must furnish the schools with the necessary tools, materials, technical equipment, as well as allocating skilled workers, engineers, and technicians. In other words, the on-the-job training of seniors at secondary, general-education schools should be implemented and actually conducted principally by the base farms.

In educational-production combines, student-production brigades, and other labor associations which function with the active cooperation of kolkhozes and sovkhozes the seniors of the rural, secondary, general-education schools master the fundamentals of the occupations. Many of them not only approach complete mastery of certain specializations but frequently turn out to be sufficiently well-trained so that immediately upon graduating from school they can pass the qualifying exams for an occupation or a workers' category. Such exams are organized in accordance with the existing statutes and are conducted by special commissions, headed up by employees of the enterprises and organizations. Thus, in the Belorussian and Uzbek SSR's the schoolchildren receive over a two-year period a good labor training in the educational-production combines. Every year more than 70 percent of the graduates successfully pass the exams for the primary skills category. In our opinion, the educators are justified in raising the question of issuing to secondary-school graduates uniform skills certificates for an occupation which has been obtained in an inter-school educational-production combine or a school with on-the-job training, certificates which must be generally recognized for any enterprise in the country.[6] This would speed up the inclusion of evening-school students in the production process, inasmuch as the certificates now in use do not have the force of law, are often not recognized by enterprises, and, in connection with this, additional time and funds are expended on instructing youths in an occupation which they have already acquired.

In recent years more and more graduates of rural, secondary schools have been remaining behind to work on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. A fine initiative in this regard was shown by the pupils of Kostromskaya Oblast. Their innovation--to go to work on their native fields and farms--was taken up by secondary-school graduates throughout the country; it was also developed on the Kostroma lands. During the 10th Five-Year Plan more than a thousand graduates remained on this oblast's farms, which was five times more than the indicator for 1971.[7] And in all, during the 10th Five-Year Plan, more than 5,500 persons, or over 42 percent of the rural-school graduates, became active participants in the upsurge of the Non-Chernozem Zone's agriculture. Furthermore, almost a third of those who graduated from school have enrolled in studies at agricultural VUZ's and tekhnikums, also having linked their own destiny with the labor to multiply the riches of their native region.

Every year throughout the country about half a million rural, secondary-school graduates swell the ranks of rural toilers. It is characteristic that the kolkhozes and sovkhozes which have fully undertaken the training of seniors from the local schools in working occupations are not only replenishing their own personnel by means of the graduates but also in the process of instruction on the basis of labor productivity are achieving good economic results. Therefore, many of them are getting along by means of their own personnel, without recruiting workers from outside. Also of no little importance is the fact that with the advent of a large amount of recruitment from among the local youth there has been a rise in the standards of labor and discipline in kolkhozes and sovkhozes, a new moral-psychological foundation is taking shape, and positive economic and social processes are speeding up in rural life.

As a result of the organic merger of education and instruction with productive labor a considerable amount of agricultural produce is being created. Thus, in 1979 in the RSFSR 1.6 million pupils, organized in 16,274 pupil production brigades, obtained 5.5 million quintals of grain, 29.5 million quintals of fodder crops; they also raised 1.5 million rabbits and 8.6 million fowl. In recent years the republic has observed an active striving on the part of schoolchildren to work in livestock raising. They also take part in gathering the harvest in mechanized units and join in the labor on the so-called family units.

Upon assignment from scientific-research agricultural institutes, experimental stations, and base farms, the pupils of rural schools, inasmuch as their capabilities allow, take part in conducting experiments on increasing crop yields and livestock-raising productivity, along with introducing agricultural species with good prospects and progressive agricultural-engineering techniques. Thanks to this, they are developing a creative attitude toward labor in agriculture.

Practical experience has shown that the expenditures of farms on organizing the labor training of schoolchildren can not only pay for themselves fully but can even bring in income. Suffice it to cite the following example. On the 50th Anniversary of the USSR Kolkhoz in Kostromskaya Oblast during 1977 each ruble of material outlays spent on the pupil brigade was "paid back" by the receipt of produce worth 6 rubles, 31 kopecks, while each hectare brought in a conventional gross income of 612 rubles. The harvest obtained by the schoolchildren was higher than on the kolkhoz, while the experimental plots of barley and potatoes proved to be even more productive.[8]

There are, nevertheless, substantial shortcomings in the organization of schoolchildren's labor education and the on-the-job training of seniors. Pupils are not extensively encompassed by this instruction in all the Union republics. Thus, if the percentage of pupils from the 9th and 10th grades who have undergone thorough labor training in 1979 in the Uzbek SSR amounted to 97.4, in the Belorussian SSR--89.7, and in the RSFSR--89.4, in the Tajik SSR it was equal to only 60.5, the Armenian SSR--66.3, and the Kirghiz SSR--68.7 percent of the total amount. The number of rural-school graduates employed in rural areas is also insufficient. For example, in the RSFSR in 1979 it amounted to 29.4 percent of the graduates. To be sure, in individual economic regions of the republic this proportion was somewhat higher: in the Central Region--36.5 percent, Central-Chernozem--34.4, and in the Far Eastern--33.7 percent. All this testifies to the fact that we must intensify the attention of the organs of public education and the economic organs to improving the labor education and on-the-job training of schoolchildren.

On-the-job training of personnel in mass occupations is conducted by means of course-type, brigade and group, as well as individual instruction. These forms are determined by the needs of agricultural production for various types of personnel. They are varied as to the time periods of training, the amount of theoretical knowledge and practical skills to be obtained; they can be with or without a break from the production line, etc. Depending on the form of instruction, its cost is determined in accordance with established rates. The expenditures included in the cost of production are objectively controlled by a system of cost-accounting relations. Thus, on-the-job training of personnel is marked by flexibility, an economical nature, and a dependence on the rapidly changing requirements of production.

The principal mass of workers is trained in educational combines, schools, and in courses. In 1978 they accounted for 62 percent of the total number of persons trained. However, there is still a significant number who have gone through brigade and group (27 percent), as well as individual instruction (10 percent). A substantial minus of on-the-job training is its not always high quality, along with its weak theoretical preparation. This shortcoming is eliminated if the instruction is conducted by educational-course combines or by the educational points and their branches which are controlled by these combines. As investigations have shown in Moscow, Saratov, and Minsk Oblasts, the educational combines which are furnished with the necessary equipment and which have staffs of instructors and skilled workers provide not only firm practical skills but also the appropriate theoretical groundwork. Since they are the centers which organize the training of personnel at the educational points and their branches directly in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the combines encompass the instruction of a wide circle of workers; for this purpose they utilize the equipment of the farms, and they recruit their specialists. The combines' instructors conduct the theoretical training. All this allows us to ensure the necessary quality of instruction.

However, the network of educational-course combines, which has been developed only during the last few years, is still comparatively small in number. Their activity is frequently based on the initiative of lower-rank workers; the appropriate guidance of their work on the part of the ministries of agriculture of the Union republics is actually not carried out. Many organizational and financial problems are still waiting to be solved.

In developing the network of educational-course combines it is necessary to pay fuller heed to the progressive experience of their rational organization and financing. There has been such experience, in particular, in Saratovskaya Oblast and, on a Union-republic scale--in the Goskomsel'khoztekhnika of the Belorussian SSR. The activity of the educational combines of Saratovskaya Oblast is marked by a broad encompassing by instruction of the workers in the mass occupations of all the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. All the rayons here are attached by the appropriate combines. Certain complex occupations (for example, the machine operators of overhead irrigationsprinkler units) are taught by workers of farms not only from their own oblast but also others. A definite specialization of the combines in training workers in individual, complex occupations is combined with instruction in the mass occupations in educational points organized by these combines on agreed-upon principles directly at the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The educational-course combines are subordinated directly to the production administration of agriculture in Saratovskaya Oblast. The best specialists are recruited for instruction, and it is conducted on the base of the oblast's technically most advanced farms. The oblast administration put the combines' financial planning in good order. Along with the achievements, however, we must also note certain shortcomings.

Administration of the training and upgrading the skills of machine operators in the educational-course combines of the Goskomsel'khoztekhnika of the Belorussian SSR is being carried out by a special apparatus of a republic-level committee. It directs the oblast combines, which, in turn, organize the activity of the rayon educational points and their branches. The work is conducted in accordance with the Statute on Educational-Course Combines, as well as a number of normative documents. For example, the system of the financing and setting norms for expenditures has been defined. A model estimate cost has been established for training and upgrading the workers in mass occupations as well as the ITR's [engineers and technicians], moreover, this has been done separately for the educational combines and points. It should be noted that this system's combines train machine-operator personnel not only for themselves but also for the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the BSSR Ministry of Agriculture, inasmuch as this ministry's system has no combines. It is thought that the BSSR Ministry of Agriculture could organize its own educational-course combines and train therein personnel not only of machine operators but also those for other mass professions. This would be more advantageous for the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in particular, in connection with the fact that, based on these combines, they could carry out the on-the-job training of the seniors of the rural, secondary, general-education schools.

Considerable monetary resources are being allocated from the budget to maintain the course network for training personnel in the mass occupations. The planning of such allocations is based on guideline indicators, in connection with which funds are often utilized not for their intended purpose. In order to expend funds more rationally on the training of personnel for mass occupations within the rural course network, it would be feasible, in our opinion, to finance it completely by means of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, i. e., without the participation of the budget. Nevertheless, as a kind of exception, we should maintain budget financing for the sovkhozes and kolkhozes of the RSFSR's Non-Chernozem Zone on a temporary basis as a form of financial aid.

FOOTNOTES

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom. Rechi i stat'i" [The Leninist Course: Speeches and Articles], Vol 6, Moscow, Politizdat, 1978, p 67.

2. KOMMUNIST, 1978, No 10, p 41.

3. "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1979" [National Economy of the USSR in 1979], Moscow, Statistika, 1980, pp 400,401.

4. Ibid., p 402.

5. See "Sbornik postanovleniy VTsSPS" [Collected Decrees of the AUCCTU], Jan--Mar 1980, Moscow, Profizdat, 1980, p 57.

6. See NARODNOYE OBRAZOVANIYE, 1980, No 12, p 24.

7. See UCHITEL'SKAYA GAZETA, 31 Jan 1981, p 1.

8. See "Molodyye khozyayeva zemli" [Young Masters of the Land], Moscow, Politizdat, 1980, p 61.

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WORK OF JOB-PLACEMENT SERVICE DISCUSSED

Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKIY TRUD in Russian No 7, Jul 81 pp 64-70

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences I. Maslova, Economics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Job-Placement Service: Development Trends and Ways to Improve it"[1]]

[Text] The public job-placement service was created in 1967 to rectify an adverse situation caused by the shortage of workers and to achieve more efficient use of local labor resources. It is an intermediary agency and functions on a voluntary basis, which reflects the consistent democracy of socialist management. It is charged with the responsibility of helping various segments of the population find jobs, actively drawing unemployed citizens into the public economy, informing workers of the need for blue- and white-collar workers at enterprises and construction sites and in organizations, and providing the latter with practical assistance in filling out their work force. The aim of its operation is to improve the supply of workers for the national economy, on the one hand, and to actualize the citizens' right to work as guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR, on the other.

The job-placement service has an important role with respect to coordinating the labor demand with the availability of workers, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The great economic and social effect from the realization of this function is due to the fact that this service is one of the elements in the labor control system, operating under the direct supervision and control of labor agencies and subordinate to the common state policy with respect to utilization of labor resources, as a result of which it functions in a planned and purposive manner.

A job-placement office has the authority to collect data on the availability of jobs at enterprises and organizations, in order to inform the population about the need for workers. Centralization of the information and reference work and the keeping of systematic records on the population using its services create greater convenience for enterprises and workers. The former do not have to keep the population informed of the availability of jobs or to gather information from the various organizations, while the latter are able to select a job more rapidly, which conforms most closely to their interests and apptitudes. The systematizing of the information has helped reduce personnel turnover.

The concentration at one location of information on the need for workers at enterprises and organizations and on the age and sex and the professional make-up of those using the job-placement service to find jobs helps local agencies considerably. In the first

place, it tells how well specific sectors of the economy, enterprises and so forth are provided with workers. In the second place, it enables us to use this information to actively affect shifting of the work force and the training of workers at vocational and technical schools and in production, and to reduce disproportions in the provision of workers for individual enterprises. Finally, it makes it possible promptly to detect any inconsistencies developing between the demand for labor and the availability of workers and to determine steps to eliminate them. As a result of this, the importance of the job-placement service is constantly increasing. This is borne out by the fact that the number of people using its services increased 2.3-fold between 1971 and 1980 alone. In 1980 the service provided assistance to 2.9 million people.

A job-placement office sends people to enterprises, institutions and organizations in all sectors of the economy. Of the total number of people finding jobs with the assistance of job-placement offices in 1979, 53.9 percent went into industry, 12.2 entered construction, 6.7--the trade and public dining systems, 5.7--housing and utilities and domestic services, 3.9--agriculture, and 17.6 percent went into other sectors.

More than 20 percent of the workers hired to fill vacancies at the nation's industrial enterprises are now coming through the job-placement service. Its services are used by a broad segment of the population. During the first years of its existence the majority(more than 80 percent) of those using its services were individuals who had been working in public production but were changing jobs for one reason or another, whereas the service is now being used by graduates of secondary general-education schools, able-bodied members of the population working at home or on personal subsidiary plots and pensioners who want to work. In the total number of people placed on jobs between 1971 and 1979 the percentage of those not working at the time they used the job-placement offices to find jobs increased from 9.1 to 14.3 percent, or 3.5-fold[sic], while the percentage of pensioners increased 3.2-fold. During that same period the portion of individuals transferring from one enterprise to another without a disruption in their work increased from 7.7 to 9.9 percent. These trends are progressing. Expansion of the intermediary work performed by the job-placement service during the period 1967-1980 helped to reduce personnel turnover and contributed to the systematic easing of the shortage of workers and to the improved use of labor resources. The changing make-up of those placed on jobs demonstrated the fact that additional workers can be found locally by actively drawing various categories of unemployed population into the national economy.

The functions of the job-placement service have been expanded markedly. It is charged with helping to provide personnel for enterprises experiencing a shortage of workers, primarily those being placed into operation, and helping the executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies to adjust the distribution and achieve efficient utilization of labor resources, to reduce turnover and to intensify the plan basis for redistributing the work force. Unfortunately, it would be difficult at this point to assess how those tasks are being performed, because the number of workers sent to enterprises by the job-placement service is not listed separately in labor statistics, neither for enterprises newly operating nor for existing enterprises, although such indices would make it possible to monitor the performance of the offices with respect to the new functions assigned them. There must be systematic analysis of the statistical and accounting data reflecting various aspects of the performance of the job-placement service at all levels, in order to detect shortcomings promptly and to generalize useful know-how accumulated in the republics in the organization of labor intermediation, the comparison of their work results and the well-founded selection of directions for further improvement of the service.

Job-placement reports submitted on form No. 1-T and the composite job-placement report for the USSR(form No. 62-TP) provide some possibilities for making such an analysis. They can be used to compute a number of important indices pertaining to the qualitative evaluation of the results of the given service's work at any level--the correlation between the number of people applying for help in finding jobs and the number hired, the number sent out to jobs and the number hired, and the number applying and the number sent out to jobs. In other words, they can be used to form a picture of how well the service is meeting the interests of society, enterprises and the population in filling vacancies and providing those who want jobs with work, that is, in coordinating labor demand with the available work force.

The correlation between the number of those applying to the job-placement offices and the number hired indicates, on the one hand, the degree to which the demand for suitable jobs by the temporarily unemployed and individuals entering public production for the first time is being satisfied with the assistance of the service. On the other hand, it indicates the degree of effectiveness in the performance of its low-level agencies with respect to retaining citizens applying to it for new jobs at their old jobs. The greater the gap between the number of people applying to an office for new jobs and the number transferring to new enterprises, the more effective is the work of the service's agents aimed at retaining workers at their jobs. The smaller the difference between the number of unemployed citizens applying for intermediation services and the number of people placed on jobs, the better their interests are being met with respect to selecting suitable jobs.

A study of the figures for 1971-1979 shows that the percentage of individuals placed on jobs increased for all categories of unemployed population, including an increase from 58.5 to 72.7 percent for the temporarily unemployed and from 63.8 to 72.2 percent for those who had not worked before. It is not possible to calculate the number of working citizens desiring to change jobs, because these figures are not indicated in statistical reports. Although the function of servicing this category has not been established by law(it is not mentioned in the Model Statute on Job-Placement Offices approved by the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems), one cannot fail to notice the fact that contacts between service agencies and these workers are beginning to manifest themselves as an effective trend in labor intermediation. This makes it possible to prevent the firing of workers without adequate consideration, in the first place, and to organize the transfer of workers to other enterprises, when necessary, with the least amount of time lost and a minimum of adverse effects, on the other hand. The number of workers remaining at their former jobs and their proportion in the number of those applying to the offices for purposes of changing jobs are important indicators, which, in our opinion, should be included in statistical reporting on job-placement.

The correlation between the number of people applying to the offices and the number sent out to jobs describes the correspondence between labor demand and available workers within the limits of the current level to which the intermediation work of the job-placement service embraces the population and enterprises. This indicator can also be used for appraising the degree of interest in its services on the part of the population and economic bodies. A large gap between the number of people sent out to jobs and the number applying to the service lowers its reputation among the population. The smaller this difference, the more effective is its work and the greater the degree to which it is meeting the interests of the population and of the enterprises.

A study of statistical data for the period 1971-1979 shows that these indices have improved. Specifically, the correlation between the number of people sent out to jobs and the number placed on jobs changed from 1:0.72 to 1:0.82, and the correlation between the number of people applying for jobs and the number sent out to jobs--from 1:0.8 to 1:0.87.

The outstripping rate of growth in the number of people placed on jobs over the increase in the number of people applying indicates an increased degree of satisfaction of the workers' needs with jobs obtained through local job-placement agencies. This indicator is growing by the year. The increase in the number of people sent out to jobs indicates that the level of interest of enterprises and of the population in the services provided by job-placement offices is equalizing, and the growth in the number of people hired indicates that better information work is being performed among the population.

A study of report cards kept on people applying for jobs(form No. TH-2) holds large possibilities for evaluating the work of the job-placement service's low-level units. The cards can be used for calculating a number of important evaluation indices, specifically the reduction in the amount of time required to place one worker on a job, the reduction in the portion of people changing jobs or branches by means of job-placement agencies, the prevention of hasty and unwarranted firings, and certain others. These data are not summarized regularly or universally, however. This makes it extremely difficult to arrive at an idea of the effectiveness of systems used in the republics for organizing job-placement intermediation or to compare their real successfulness.

The study of basic report data at the sites focuses mainly on summarizing information on the composition of that segment of the population coming in to the offices, on the scale, the trends and the causes of transfers by workers, and on the need for workers at enterprises, organizations and construction projects. Without this it is impossible to work out specific steps to reduce turnover, to regulate the flows of the work force and to better provide the national economy with workers. We feel that local job-placement agencies should be required to summarize and submit to the republic's state committee for labor and social problems information on the length of time it takes to place citizens on jobs with the help of the offices, the number and the portion of workers changing jobs or branches, and the number remaining at their former jobs after applying for assistance in transferring to a different enterprise. These reports should be submitted a year before the end of a five-year period, to be used for assessing the results of the intermediation work for the five-year period.

Despite the obvious advantages of handling employment matters through these offices for both the enterprises and the workers, the percentage of both the one and the other utilizing their services is still too small. In cities with these offices, according to data gathered by the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, an average of only 29 percent of those hired by enterprises and organizations find their jobs through the offices. The percentage is even smaller in large cities. This makes it difficult to plan the distribution and redistribution of the work force, and local agencies for labor are unable to actively influence the effectiveness of labor-resource utilization.

The decree passed by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU "On the Further Strengthening of Labor Discipline and Reduction of Personnel Turnover in the National Economy" speaks of steps to develop the job-placement offices

and improve their performance and to make more extensive use of experience accumulated in those cities in which the population is informed of available jobs and the workers are hired by means of the offices. We feel that this will require improving the organizational and legal basis of this service and the procedure for financing its operation and for providing incentives.

The job-placement service is developing dynamically on the whole. According to data gathered by the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the total number of offices created in the nation's cities and rural areas increased from 388 to 632 between 1 July 1978 and 1 July 1980 alone. They operate in all the population centers with more than 500,000 residents and in 93 percent of the cities with populations of 100,000 to 500,000.[2] This is not true of cities with populations between 50,000 and 100,000 residents and those with less than 50,000. Only 31 percent of the former are served by offices or their branches, and only 5.2 percent of the latter.

Most of the cities without job-placement offices are in the RSFSR. It is permitted to open offices there only in cities with populations of more than 100,000. In our opinion, it is time to remove this restriction and develop a new, well-founded criterion for determining the feasibility of creating an office. Obviously, the determination should be based not just upon the size of the population of a given city, the type of settlement or the kind of production specialization.[3]

The need to create local job-placement offices is dictated primarily by the need for purposive regulation and optimization of the scales and directions of work-force flows and the need to ensure a balance between the population's demand for jobs and the needs of enterprises and organizations for workers, in order to make fuller use of local labor resources to improve production effectiveness. It would therefore be correct to use indicators describing either the level of mobility of the able-bodied population (by the volume of workers hired by all of a city's enterprises and organizations, for example) or the level of their demand for workers as the criterion for determining the expediency of opening an office.

The volume of job transfers depends not only upon the populations of communities and their branch of specialization, but also upon the location, the sex-and-age composition of the able-bodied population, and a number of other factors. The same can be said of the indicator of demand for workers. It is influenced by such factors as the level of labor activeness, the intensity of work-force turnover, the migrational mobility of the able-bodied population and the degree to which economic units are provided with local labor resources. The use of any of these criteria, however, demands thorough substantiation of the minimal permissible quantity of transfers of the able-bodied population or enterprise demand for workers at which it would be economically justifiable to open a job-placement office of one type or another.

The legal status and criteria for creating their branches and divisions require special definition with respect to this. It would seem expedient to organize them in those centers of population in which the volume of work is not enough to warrant an office but is too great to be performed by the labor agents themselves and too great for the regular staff. We must determine the maximum permissible loads for the workers of one office, which, when exceeded, would provide grounds for discussing the opening of divisions.

We have an equally pressing need to work out for the future standardized methodological principles for creating the organizational structure and determining the size of the staff for the republic levels of the job-placement service. Right now, of course, there are large differences in the types of offices operating in the various republics, in the functions they perform and in their staffs, structures and work loads for inspectors drawing the same pay. This is due to the fact that when the offices were created matters pertaining to their operation(the composition of their functions, the principles underlying their organization, the forms and methods of the work, conditions and criteria for awarding bonuses, official salaries for the workers, sources of incentive funds, and so forth) were determined by the Union republics and were not regulated by normative documents for the entire Union.[4] We can conditionally define three types of offices, differing in make-up and in the functions they perform: the first are those which engage in job-placement for the population, the gathering of information and the study of statistical and report data; the second are offices charged, along with organized recruitment, with the resettlement of families in agriculture, providing job-placement services for the youth and job-orientation for students; and the third are those which fulfill all of the basic functions of local labor agencies within a specific territory. These differences in functions make it practically impossible to compare their performance and make it difficult to exercise standardized methodological supervision over the development of the job-placement service.

Nor do we have as yet standardization in the model for directing regional levels of the job-placement service in the Union republics. This is due to differences in the territorial-administrative arrangement of the republics. Offices are set up under oblast (kray) labor departments(administrations) in the RSFSR, the Belorussian, Kazakh, Uzbek and Turkmen SSRs, and in the RSFSR they have also been created under the state committees for labor of the autonomous republics and are directly subordinate to them. In the Latvian and Tajik SSRs they have been set up under the state committees for labor and are subordinate to the corresponding subdivisions of the latter. In the Moldavian, Lithunian and Ukrainian SSRs the offices are simultaneously subordinate to the republic state committee for labor and the local labor department. We thus have two amalgamated models for directing the job-placement service: single- and double-level.

The literature shows a preference for the double-level subordination system for the offices, that is, offices simultaneously subordinate to the republic state committee for labor and the local labor department.[5] This system makes it possible to delimit more precisely the tasks performed at the various levels, provides for the more flexible combining of national and local interests and makes it possible to coordinate the work of the service both in the republics and in the nation as a whole.

The question arises as to whether it would be possible to switch to the double-level administration system for the job-placement service in all the republics. We believe it would. In order to do so, however, we would have to define a low-level unit which could be subordinate to the local offices, regardless of the specific kind of territorial and administrative division existing in the republics. Local soviets of people's deputies could serve this purpose. The job-placement offices could be made structural subdivisions of the soviets and operate under their direct supervision and control, while retaining their subordination to the republic's state committee for labor.

Such an arrangement would not conflict with the law "On the Basic Authority of Kray and Oblast Soviets of People's Deputies and Soviets of People's Deputies of Autonomous Oblasts and Okrugs" passed at the 3rd session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 10th

convocation, which included the development of an organized job-placement sytem in the authority granted to kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies. It would make the work of the offices considerably more effective. Furthermore, their direct subordination to the executive committees of soviets of people's deputies would make it possible to resolve yet another important problem. At the present time, in addition to labor offices and agents, job-placement services for specific segments of the population are handled locally by special commissions under the executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies, which operate on a volunteer basis, and social security agencies.[6] These functions are also performed by the administrative bodies of enterprises, production associations and construction projects, ministries and departments. We feel that it would be more practical to turn all these functions over to the job-placement offices, vesting in them broader rights and authority.

It would be impossible to expand the service's rights and duties and to adopt a common, national system for directing their low-level agencies without working out a special statute on the state job-placement system, which should precisely define the system's status, its organizational structure, the administration model, the rights and duties of the specific units, the conditions for creating them, the rights and duties of various categories of workers and economic bodies using the service, special benefits for specific categories of the population finding jobs through the system, and so forth.

The proposed changes in the administration model for the job-placement service would require that the financing system be brought into conformity with it. At the present time the offices are maintained by special funds collected from the enterprises at rates set by Union republic state committees for prices, and the system varies significantly, since the accounting system between enterprises and job-placement offices is established by each republic separately. In some republics(the RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSR) payment is made for services actually rendered in accordance with the number of workers sent out by the offices and hired, while in other republics the offices receive funds from the enterprises on the basis of a contract involving a single listing of services in amounts which depend upon the planned number of workers. The rates paid by enterprises and organizations therefore differ. The rate set in Kazakhstan for enterprises with more than 5,000 workers is 1,500 rubles, for example, while those in Latvia pay 500 rubles. As a result of this, enterprises and organizations in the RSFSR pay 2.9 rubles for each worker sent out by the offices and hired, those in the Ukrainian SSR--3.6 rubles, the Estonian SSR--3.5 rubles, the Belorussian SSR--5.4 rubles, the Lithuanian SSR--7.8 rubles, and so forth.

The budget system of financing seems to be the most appropriate for the job-placement service. At the present time the Law on the Basic Authority of Soviets of People's Deputies calls for the transfer of a portion of the profits of republic and Union enterprises and organizations located within their territory for the budgets of krays, oblasts, autonomous oblasts and okrugs. We should give some thought to including special payments into these budgets for development of the job-placement service, to be made by all enterprises, regardless of their departmental subordination. Naturally, this would require working out a special rate system. Two principles should be followed when working out the system: In the first place, the amounts of payments made by the enterprises into a budget should be adequate for the normal functioning and development of the job-placement service locally, and in the second place, the rates should depend not only upon the number of workers employed at the enterprises, but also upon the number of workers hired there during the year.

This arrangement for the financing of the job-placement service is essential for the soviets of people's deputies realistically to exercise the authority vested in them by law to further develop the system locally, and the offices would no longer be directly dependent upon the enterprises using their services. Naturally, this would require working out a system of methods for determining the criteria for differentiating the rates, preparing the necessary statistical information for determining the overall number of workers hired by all the enterprises and organizations of a city and for determining the percentages of the various groups of enterprises at the city level and the subgroups differing in volumes of workers hired.

At the present time records are not kept on the hiring and the departure of workers at enterprises for all categories of personnel or in all sectors of the national economy. It is therefore impossible to arrive at a sufficiently accurate picture of the intensity of work-force circulation among the enterprises and organizations of a city or of the level of mobility of various groups of workers, or to group economic bodies according to common characteristics and differences in the intensity of the hiring and departure of personnel. In view of this, it would seem that within the next few years we should introduce mandatory reporting of the hiring and the departure of workers(for all categories of personnel) in all sectors of the national economy. It would be difficult to restructure the existing system of financing for the job-placement service without resolving the matters mentioned.

The proposals for improving the job-placement service discussed in this article need to be extensively discussed by scientists and practical workers. We believe that the transfer of direct supervision and control over the operation of local job-placement agencies to the executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies, while retaining their subordination under the state committees for labor of the republics, as well as the conversion of this service to financing out of the budget, will help to make the service more effective and improve the performance of its local agencies.

When we resolve this matter it is important that we bear in mind the statement made by L.I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress: "There can be no stagnation with respect to improving the organizational structures of administration. We cannot adapt a vital and developing system of economic administration to entrenched, traditional procedures. No, these procedures must be brought into conformity with the changing economic tasks."

FOOTNOTES

1. This article is presented as a formulation of the question discussed.

2. A number of offices in large cities have branches in nearby centers, while cities with rayon divisions have rayon divisions of city offices(the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, the Belorussian SSR and the Uzbek SSR).

3. The Ukrainian SSR has long used the system which permits offices to be opened only in cities with highly developed industry, while in Kirghizia they are opened in cities and large population centers. The Standard Statute on the Job-Placement Office in the other republics places no restrictions at all on the creation of offices.

4. The RSFSR and the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Kirghiz and Uzbek SSRs have city job-placement offices, the Kazakh SSR has oblast offices, the Moldavian SSR has rayon offices and the Tajik SSR has a republic office. There is a central office in the RSFSR, for example, which coordinates the work of city offices for the republic.

5. A.E. Kotlyar and V.V. Trubin, "Problemy uregulirovaniya raspredeleniya i pererasprede-leniya rabochey sily"[Problems of Regulating the Distribution and Redistribution of the Work Force], Moscow, Ekonomika, 1978, p 80.

6. Commissions under the soviets of people's deputies for job-orientation for students and for providing assistance with the placement of secondary school graduates on jobs, commissions on minors and for the placement of individuals avoiding socially useful labor, commissions for providing officers with jobs, housing and personal services, monitoring commissions and certain others.

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11499
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EDUCATION

TAJIKS PROVIDE SPECIALIZED TRAINING FOR WOMEN

Dushanbe TOJIKISTONI SOVETI in Tajiki 29 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by S. Rajabova: "Women as Skilled Workers"]

[Text] In the report of the Central Committee of the CPSU delivered at the 26th Party Congress by First Secretary Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, it was resolved: "To mount a large-scale program to train skilled local native workers, especially from among young village people."

In Tajikistan, as in the other union republics, qualified personnel are being trained in secondary and advanced schools and technical and professional institutes, and likewise in workshops and on collective and state farms.

As a result of the concerted activities of the Party organizations of the republic, the number of personnel being trained, including local women, is increasing considerably. Thanks to the emergence of new economic fields there is a greater variety of jobs and professions available. At present personnel are being trained in 178 separate specialized fields at technical schools and colleges.

In the republic a broad program is being implemented of basic training, refresher courses and advanced schooling for workers in directly productive occupations. A vast network of individual and brigade training has been established: schools of advanced principles of labor, specialized courses for acquiring additional skills, courses in technical production, and technical and professional evening classes (operating in shifts).

In the training of skilled workers from among young women and girls, six basic workshops are playing an important role. These are the carpet weaving combine at Qayroqqum, the Cotton Fabrics Association at Dushanbe, the Leninabad silk combine, the "50th Anniversary of the USSR" sewing combine, the "Shveymestprom-2" union and the spinning and weaving factory at Konibodom.

Close attention was given to the question of basic training and upgrading of professional skills of skilled women workers at the 8th plenum of the Central Committee of the CP of Tajikistan (1977). At this plenum, the ministries and government departments were instructed to set up combines for joint training and production.

The Party organizations and the council of women of the Dushanbe Cotton Fabrics Association are going to great lengths to educate women workers and upgrade their

professional skills. At the combine, 5700 women are at work, 48 percent of them local natives.

The Party organizations and trade unions are creating the conditions for a multi-faceted evolution of the personalities of women workers and for upgrading their general and professional education. The solution to these questions is reflected in the plan of action of the Party organization, the council of workshop women and 15 councils of women's production sections. A commission has been set up to promote and inspect women workers' training. In the union it operates a school for shifts of young workers.

Many women workers are studying at secondary and advanced technical schools while still engaged in productive labor. All these arrangements have enabled us to upgrade the general and professional education of working women. At present the collective boasts 278 women workers with advanced technical or professional training and 252 who have been promoted to the higher grade of multiple-skill specialists.

The level of ideological and political awareness of the women workers of the union is being raised in the city of Dushanbe's evening university of Marxism-Leninism, in schools, seminars and discussion circles of political and economic education, and in the Komsomol educational network. Over 300 women workers are studying in schools of communist labor and in the people's university of technical and economic sciences.

The upgrading of women's professional and ideological-political education aids in the increase of output, the improvement of quality, and the stockpiling of domestic potential. Many of the women workers in the union are innovators and leaders in production: such are Heroines of Socialist Labor P. Qurbonova and L. Men'shikova, Deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet S, Qodirova, weaver and Order of Lenin winner Davlatova. Twenty-one women employees at the workshop have been elected to the municipal and rayon soviets and are instructors and exemplars for the younger women workers.

The advantages of improving our use of labor resources and guaranteeing the people's economy by fuller use of skilled personnel require that all young women capable of work be enrolled in one or other professional training program.

The training of the work force in the Republic, from among young women and especially local native personnel, still cannot meet the demands of the swiftly-developing people's economy.

Every year the secondary schools of Kulyab province graduate more than 5,000 girls. But of these only a very small number enter advanced technical schools. A considerable number of girls take unskilled jobs, or work on collective or state farms, or simply stay at home; while in the province as a whole 5,000 women are employed in menial tasks which constitutes 25 percent of all workers. This means that in many small and medium-sized towns extremely few women are being trained in rural professional and technical schools to work in industrial fields of any kind. Moreover, in the general rural schools, students are not being adequately trained in basic skills.

The basic way to increase the number of workers is to attract girls to the schools and to develop a variety of forms of professional training. Local native girls

should also be trained for a trade or profession before marriage, i.e. after they graduate from secondary school or even as soon as they finish elementary school.

However, the number of girls in the republic enrolled at specialized secondary or advanced schools is very small, and in a range of special fields--industry, construction and agriculture--this number has even been decreasing. Yet, every year girls comprise about half of the young people who reach working age.

The solution to the problem of upgrading general and specialized education of the republic's young women requires that the siting of basic training centers be undertaken henceforth on a territorial basis.

Almost all the colleges and secondary trade schools that train personnel for industry are situated in the cities of Dushanbe and Leninabad. Whereas in the countryside even the network of secondary trade schools that train people for industry, communications, transport, commerce and general services is almost entirely undeveloped.

One of the best and easiest ways of attracting local native girls to the colleges and secondary trade schools and turning out skilled personnel is to set up girls' boarding schools, such as existed previously in the republic and in my view were closed ill-advisedly. Such boarding schools should be modernized with respect to their predecessors of the 50s and 60s; they should serve additionally to train local native girls for work in industry. It would thus be appropriate to open industrial training centers next to such schools.

Increasing demands for a trained work force, including women, require that some aspects of planning in this area be improved, taking local conditions into account. First of all, the siting of new training institutions requires that the quantity and quality of existing labor resources be taken into consideration so that the appropriate training program can be implemented. In cities and rayons where a new institution is to be sited, the local inhabitants and young people must be fully informed in advance of the nature and objectives of the institution being built.

Not all Party and public organizations of the republic are yet making full use of the experiences of the other union republics in training personnel, including various kinds of temporary ad hoc training programs.

For instance, in the rural day care centers 60 percent of the pedagogic staff have had no specialized secondary schooling, and 13.1 percent have not even completed a regular secondary education.

As regards providing staff for rural day care centers, it would be well to profit from the experience of Moldavia, i.e. to set up a one-year course in preschool child care in the republic, geared to the number of kolkhozes, for secondary school-leavers or ninth-graders. These courses would be given in the general secondary schools, and personnel would be trained in accordance with the plan ratified by the republic Ministry of Education.

These courses should be staffed by the best teachers, day care center staff, doctors, etc.

One result of not paying the necessary attention to the business of training personnel, including local native women, is that there exists a range of occupations where women are completely absent. Among the cadres of the Ministry of Consumer Services of the republic, women are occasionally encountered as hairdressers, models, manicurists, etc.; but in transportation, for instance, there are no stewardesses or train conductors, and in communications, construction, insurance and banking, women are rare.

The relative number of local native women in the fields of health care, automated industry and accountancy is extremely low. It is not difficult to verify this fact, for on state and collective farms the bookkeepers, economists, accountants and planners are all men--the women workers are to be found in the fields. It is impossible to ignore this and other such situations that occur. In countering them, the general public school as a base for between-schools industrial training combines, plus general service training combines for girls and married women and special courses can play an important role.

But such methods of training personnel are only temporary measures, since the scientific and technical revolution makes special demands on workers. Accordingly the main basis for training staff must be the advanced schools, the educational, professional and technical colleges and specialized professional and technical training institutes. In these colleges the enrollment of local native girls, especially from rural districts, must be increased.

In the same way, attracting local native women into productive social labor requires an improvement in the degree of training of qualified technical and professional staff, in the productive siting of specialized schools (building them near villages and extending the network), and in setting up new advanced colleges and professional and technical training institutes. To this end, learning from the successful experiences of the union republics and other countries must play an important role.

9876
CSO: 1810/911

EDUCATION

SCHOOL DROPOUT RATE INCREASING IN ESTONIA

Tallinn RAHVA HÄÄL in Estonian 8 Aug 81 p 2

[Article by Asta Aru, deputy director of the Ministry of Education School Board: "Secondary Education Considered an Obligation"]

"Every citizen of the Estonian SSR has a right to education. The state guarantees youth a free education in any field of study, a universal compulsory secondary education to all..." Thus states Par. 43 of the Constitution of the Estonian SSR.

The educational system of our republic can claim unqualified success in reaching the ultimate goal of a universal compulsory secondary education guaranteed to all.

Toward the end of the 10th Five-Year Plan, the network of general educational inuti-tutions of the Estonian SSR included 183 secondary day schools, 236 eight grade and 72 elementary schools, 48 evening and secondary correspondence schools, 3 schools for children with health problems, located in wooded areas, and 43 various other schools.

The number of secondary schools has recently increased considerably. Secondary schools now have an important role within the educational system, in general, and in the ultimate goal of compulsory secondary education. During the past school year, 77.5 percent of the total school population of our republic attended secondary schools, which have excellent physical facilities and highly qualified teaching staff. In 1980, 97.4 percent of graduates of the 8th grade continued their studies at secondary schools.

Academic proficiency during the past four years has remained constant at 98.6 percent. Achievement levels of the past school year show a marked improvement over the previous year. The number of repeaters decreased by 0.4 percent; Hiiumaa, Kingisepa, Jogeva, and Tartu districts reported remarkable progress in this respect.

The dropout rate has caused considerable concern for a number of years; at 1.4 percent it has far exceeded all-union totals, which were indexed at 0.9 percent for 1979/80.

Based on statistics for the 1979/80 school year, the dropout rate should be adjusted significantly downward. During the period of Sept. 1, 1979 to Aug. 31, 1980, students left general day schools for the following reasons: 1084 students continued their studies at night schools or secondary vocational schools; 210 students entered technical secondary schools, and 126 transferred to trade schools. Of the

739 students, who reportedly left school for "other reasons," and were consequently dropped from class rolls, 225 had extended illnesses, and 352 students entered the job market.

The need for basic changes in the procedures planned to remedy problems in compulsory secondary education, beginning with the new school year, unquestionably reflects both the basic deficiencies of existing educational trends, and the failure of the teaching staff to keep students at school. Parents are expected to assume a major responsibility and play a vital role in advising youth against hasty decisions to leave school.

It deserves mention, that schools with Russian language instruction have had greater success in solving this problem. The dropout rate is much higher in schools with Estonian language instruction. During the 1979/80 school year, the dropout rate was extremely high in Tartu, Paide, Põlva, Haapsalu, and Jõgeva districts, and in the city of Pärnu. During the same school year, the cities of Narva, Kohtla-Järve, and Sillamägi, and the district of Harju met with exceptional success in keeping their students at school.

School administrators as well as parents should be discouraged from hastily dropping from school registers students with long illnesses, or students assigned to special schools for health reasons. To best suit the particular illnesses of these children, they will either be assigned to special schools, or receive individual instruction at home. Study plans for individual home instruction are in existence today, and have been published in the Ministry of Education "Decrees and Directives" No. 4(94), dated 1981. Thus, parents are no longer required to obtain medical certificates for excused absences during illness. Neither are such certificates any longer valid.

During the past school year, educational organizations and schools launched a concerted effort to analyze the reasons for the alarming dropout rate, and to seek measures to remedy the situation. These efforts resulted in a 0.2 percent decrease in the dropout rate during the school year. However, again in 1980/81, many students left school short of an eight-grade education, especially in Valga, Rapla, and Harju districts, and in the city of Tartu. Secondary schools in Harju and Viljandi districts, and several high schools in Tallinn and Tartu, reported a relatively large number of dropouts. School populations in Narva and Sillamägi, and in Hiiumaa remained relatively constant.

Preliminary results of early 1980/81 dropout surveys were discussed at the recent Ministry of Education Council meeting. A number of immediate remedies were adopted to halt the exodus from schools during the year ahead.

City and regional commissions of the affairs of minors have been instructed to conscientiously weigh each and every case, before granting permission to schools for the transfer of students to night schools or to the workplace.

A number of village soviets and housing authorities have, at times, failed to follow instructions to account for the number of school-age children. These authorities need to enforce the regulations governing controls over compulsory school age populations. There is much room for improvement in coordinating the activities of

the authorities sharing a common goal.

To improve the quality and effectiveness of universal compulsory secondary education, we must build better relationships between the educational system, the schools, and society at large. Only a concerted effort will lead toward the goal of developing in every student a measure of civic pride, and a clear understanding that secondary education is an obligation, rather than merely a right guaranteed to every citizen.

7706
CSO: 1815/9

FIVE-DAY SCHOOL WEEK FOR 6-YEAR OLDS VIEWED FAVORABLY IN ESTONIA

Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian 28 Jul 81 p 2

[Article by Lilian Kivi, head of the Department of Primary Education at the Educational Research Institute of the Estonian SSR: "Five-Day School Week Begins for 6-Year Olds"]

[Text] Preparations are under way in our republic for a transition toward bringing 6-year olds into the classroom. Since the introduction of children to formal education at an earlier age is considered a major innovation, guidance by the 26th CPSU Congress was eagerly awaited. The direction and goals of economic and social development in the USSR for 1981-1985 and beyond, to 1990, demand of us a gradual transition toward the teaching of 6-year olds at preparatory grades within our schools.

To implement the directives by the USSR Ministry of Education, our republic launched, in 1972, an active program to study ways and means of teaching 6-year olds in the classroom. This task was carried out primarily by the Department of Primary Education of the Educational Research Institute of the Estonian SSR. The problems addressed were many: Is every normally developed 6-year old capable of classroom study? Which changes must be introduced in the school to adequately meet the particular needs of 6-year olds? To what an extent could standard first grade instructional materials be adopted in the teaching of 6-year olds: What are the teaching methods best suited to educate 6-year olds?

As decreed by the Council of Ministers of the Estonian SSR, classes for 6-year olds began in 1972/73 at four schools of our republic. At these experimental classrooms the work pattern differed significantly from the traditional. Class periods did not exceed 25-35 minutes, and alternated with walks and periods of play. The daily plan included several meals as well, and children did not leave school before 5 or 6 PM, when their parents could pick them up after work. Thus, in the beginning, 6-year olds were assigned to a program more suited to kindergarten. Assigned grades and homework were absent. Periods of play and playthings were of primary importance. Many of the playthings were made by the children themselves, as each day an hour or two were set aside for drawing, modeling, and constructing. Physical education, music and dance classes were scheduled several times a week. Periods of music and play were always a part of study sessions. Despite these diversions, considerable time was spent daily to explore nature and observe the environment, and to gain basic knowledge in reading and mathematics. This type of study/play program served as preparation for the more formal curriculum of the school year. Planners of the experiment adopted a part of first grade materials in designing the curriculum for

6-year olds. The absence of numerical grades and homework did not have a negative effect; rather, children owed their progress, in part, to educational games and frequent play sessions, and the constant positive reinforcement by teachers. Since new knowledge was absorbed with considerable ease, at year's end even greater progress seemed possible. However, the learning of certain skills and tasks occasionally proved excessively demanding of 6-year olds. The experimental study program was consequently revised, and problem tasks such as penmanship, were eliminated. A certain level of physical maturity is basic to the child's ability of master writing tasks. To date, only printed letters are taught to 6-year olds in experimental classrooms. This is only one example of the conscious effort to eliminate age-specific problems in curriculum design. As an encouraging result of early education, there has been a decreased workload at higher grades. Thus we have demonstrated that every normal 6-year old is educable in the classroom. The experiment has taught us even more. It has become evident, that any school admitting children at age 7, is organizationally unsuited to programs for 6-year olds. The younger children are ill prepared to productively organize their free afternoon hours at school, while parents work. Neither are they able to return home alone during rush hours. For these children, the school day must correspond to their parents workday. Several meals and afternoon naps must be scheduled within their long school days. Study periods must be shorter for 6-year olds; also, a few hours of study must alternate with periods of play. Each day, the children must spend several hours in fresh air. To help 6-year olds make reasonable progress in the classroom, a certain physical environment is required: (a) either separate study and play rooms, or a single room outfitted with easily movable lightweight furniture; (b) a good supply of toys; (c) playgrounds; (d) sufficient quantities of instructional materials suitable to the specific needs of the very young.

The experiment was well under way by 1978; however, the program needed testing on a larger scale to avoid an incomplete evaluation based on only four classes of a total of 120 children. During the 1978/79 school year, the government of our republic decreed that experimental classes be opened in practically every district and town. These classes totaled 37. Successful past programs were used as models in planning the activities and study programs.

Studies conducted in 1978/79 by the Tallinn Scientific Research Institute of Epidemiology, Microbiology, and Hygiene, have shown that classes for 6-year olds contribute favorably to the development of children, and support the view that these classes can be successfully organized throughout the republic. Children in the experimental school program had fewer illnesses than children at various preschool centers. Six-year olds had fewer adjustment problems, and showed greater stress tolerance than first graders at age seven. Medical specialists concluded that shorter shool days, longer breakr for outdoor activities, smaller classes (25-30 students), and daily naps accounted for easier adjustment of these children. Also, since the program encourages creativity and self-expression through play, life at school does not differ too much from pre-school years. The constant motivation and positive reinforcement by teachers helps children develop a positive healthy attitude toward achievement in the classroom. The absence of grades eliminates embarrassment and feelings of inferiority in the children disadvantaged by a lack of pre-school preparation and training. The 5-day school week for 6-year olds also encourages the greater role of the family in child development. Of the two days of rest granted the worker, Saturdays are usually spent for housekeeping tasks and family activities.

Since children do not attend school on Saturdays, they are free to join parents in these activities. Thus the role of the family in the moral and work-oriented upbringing of children is increasingly important.

Directives by the 26th CPSU Congress gave momentum to the preparations for formal education of 6-year olds. The primary education cycle, which begins with classes for 6-year olds, will now last 4 years. For 6-year olds, there will be 20 35-minute classes (i.e., four classes each day); for students in grades I-III, there will be 20 45-minute classes instead of the previous 24. Beginning with this school year, 43 classes for 6-year olds will operate throughout the republic. On an experimental basis, groups of 6-year olds in the 126 kindergartens in Tallinn, four kindergartens in Pärnu, and two kindergartens in Saku, will be transferred to standardized study programs for 6-year olds. In the future, 6-year olds at every kindergarten will be taught under standardized programs, such as are already adopted throughout Hiiumaa and Kingisepa districts. The general rule requires that 6-year olds, who do not attend kindergarten, will enter classes at school; 6-year olds in kindergarten will be introduced to the special programs within their environment. In some communities, the small number of children dictates the need for organizing both kindergarten and school children into one group, to be taught either at school or in kindergarten. At regular schools, a minimum of 25 6-year olds per class is the general norm; at rural schools, which lack parallel grades I-III, the norm is 15 students per class.

What do we expect of parents? We expect that parents help their sons and daughters to get used to the thought that their long journey through education will begin a year sooner. The study/play program at school will certainly be more enjoyable to those 6-year olds who are mentally prepared and anxious to enter the classroom.

7706
CSO: 1815/6

DEMOGRAPHY

UNMARRIED WOMEN IN SOVIET SOCIETY

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 7, Jul 81 pp 43-46

[Article by Dalila Akivis and Valentin Sergeyev: "The Unmarried Woman"]

[Text] "Valentina. Age, height, weight--40(167)74. Widow, one grown daughter. Education--secondary technical, senior foreman. Demanding toward herself and toward her associates, cheerful, sociable. Likes the movies, theater, trips. Wishes to make the acquaintance of a man who drinks little, 40 to 50 years old, above-average height, with a gentle, easy-going disposition."

"Advertisement," weekly supplement to the newspaper VECHERNIY TALLIN, 8 October 1980

"...The heroine of the Latvian film 'Wish Me Weather Unfit for Flying' is a woman who has already crossed the barrier of her 30th birthday, but never married.

"In another film she is called Tonya, in a third one Katya, in a fourth--Nyura.... All these heroines have different occupations, their characters, tastes, demands on life are also different, and there is only one misfortune--all these women are single."

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 22 April 1981

"Officially Margo was considered a single mother, although it is more grammatical to say an unmarried mother. If a woman has a child, and one as beautiful and valuable as Sashechka, she is no longer alone."

"Nothing Particular," Viktoriya Tokareva, NOVYY MIR, No 4, 1981

"I raised my daughter, taught her, married her, there are already grandsons, two. But I am alone. In my daughter's family I am no longer a burden, but I am also not needed. It would be better for her if I were to live separately. But at 50 it is not that simple

to meet a good man, not a drunkard, independent and loving. Yes, loving! Is love really forbidden at 50?"

From a reader's letter to the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA

"But perhaps a miracle will happen? No, intellectually I no longer believe in anything, but I still hope for a miracle. And suddenly!..."

"The Family Circle," television documentary serial, EKRAN, 1981

"Blond, 160 cm tall, higher education, likes books, the theater, the comfort of home, wishes to make the acquaintance of a man 30-40 years old, emotional, erudite, intelligent, having a sense of humor and a balanced disposition...."

"I will make the acquaintance of a man 45-50 years old, over 170 cm tall, honest, cheerful, not keen on alcoholic beverages. My height is 165 cm, I am well-proportioned, cheerful, financially secure...."

Advertising supplement to the newspaper RIGAS BALLS, 3 April 1980

"There are also other reasons which are decreasing the activeness of the acquaintance service. Nearly two-thirds of those who turn to it for assistance are women. For this reason their admission to 'Romashka' is limited, which is hardly just."

VECHERNIY SVERDLOVSK, 5 November 1980

"Loneliness has become unbearable.... material prosperity, enthusiasm for public work or sports, intellectual contact over a cup of coffee are not enough for them. Women want a full-fledged family life with its joys and sorrows. A problem exists. For there are millions of unmarried women over 25 in the country...."

KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, 18 October 1980

Yes, a problem does exist. It is being aggravated by the demographic situation and is itself aggravating this situation. The problem is attracting more and more intensely the attention of the press, literature, cinematography and the theater.

The goals of the demographic policy are clear and specific: to strengthen the family, that is, first of all to protect it against collapse, to make it easier for people to get married, to maintain the birth rate at the level which society needs for normal development. But it must not be forgotten that the achievement of these goals, in which both society and the family are equally interested, will require great efforts, persistence and, what is the main thing, time. Not without reason did L. I. Brezhnev say in the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress, when speaking about the need to increase the concern for the family and first of all the woman, about the improvement of the conditions

of her labor and relaxation, about help in the raising of children: "Of course, we cannot accomplish immediately everything we would like to. But we will persistently seek ways to solve all these problems."

The press is also taking part in this search. The dialogue published below is an attempt to take a look at the reflection of the problem on the pages of the press, in radio and television broadcasts, to examine and generalize the points of view on the problem of the unmarried woman, which are most characteristic of today.

He. On the eve of International Women's Day over Moscow Oblast radio there were not less than 10 broadcasts in different genres, which were devoted to various good women. The authors report lavishly all kinds of details about each heroine, except one: marital status. At times it is felt that a question hangs literally on the tongue of the radio reporter: Are you married? Who is your husband? But I have never had occasion to hear this question asked. And the women themselves in their responses avoided this point just as diplomatically. "I have a handsome son." "I have a marvellous daughter." "I have a large apartment...." Well, what about a husband? Is there none? Or is he such, that the less you recall about him, the better?

She. It is not hard to pardon such female diplomacy--for not only in an interview, but also in ordinary contact the question "Are you married?" is among those which it is not that it would be impolite, tactless, but would be somehow rather dangerous to ask point-blank: you are afraid of putting a person in an awkward position.

He. It is precisely this that I have in mind! It is rather dangerous. But why? Yes, this woman is not married. What is shameful or indecent or unworthy about that?... Nothing whatsoever! So why is it somewhat disagreeable to us to make inquiries about this and do the women themselves feel a certain moral discomfort, if they nevertheless have to answer?

There are far fewer married women, according to statistical data, than there are wedding rings on the ring fingers of the right hand. Some--modest women--intend in this way to protect themselves against undesirable attention. For others it is gold, a valuable. But the majority probably want if not to be, then at least to look like everyone.

She. You say: "some, others, still others," but the situation is essentially the same: the single woman is trying to conceal this fact. This statistical phenomenon--the number of married women being more than the number of married men--has many times been played up in the press invariably under the "guise" of the exposure of woman impostors.

In reality, I think, everything is considerably more complicated.

The law recognizes two marital statuses: a person is married--a person is not married. A third one is not given. But in life there are a very great number of such statuses, and they are infinitely diverse--with respect to strength, with respect to durability, with respect to how seriously the man and the woman take marriage, what rights they recognize each other. In legal practice any such union is called a "liaison," or else a bit more trenchantly--"cohabitation": the official language does not stand on ceremony on this account. Friends, they would put it in a different way, more mildly: "They meet each other" or "They are having an affair." But neither relatives nor friends would ever mix such a couple with "lawful," "registered" spouses.

It would not, apparently, be a mistake to say that actual marital relations are becoming more and more diverse. And whereas many women do not have the formal right to wear a wedding ring, they do have the moral right to do so. And in general the woman who has lived her entire life alone, the divorced woman with a child, the single mother, the woman who is having an affair--these are, after all, different types on both the social and the psychological level.

He. I agree with you, but let us try to assess unbiasedly the status of the unmarried woman. Its vulnerability in many ways was always connected with the fact that it was as if attested to her inferiority: here, they say, no one chose her! Well, and in what, strictly speaking, might this "inferiority" now be manifested? In homely looks? But have you failed to notice that homely girls disappear from the urban crowd? Or, in order to be entirely accurate, an unrewarding appearance is kept only by those who are willing to reconcile themselves to it. A fairy godmother is not necessary for a modern-day Cinderella to become a princess--cosmetics, clothes and a knowledge of sports are sufficient.

She. I have in my hands a letter which at first glance fully bears out your point of view:

"I utterly disagree with the position now being taken by many newspapers on questions of marriage. There is the compassionate attitude toward unmarried women, all kinds of advice, all kinds of acquaintance services. But why, strictly speaking? The modern woman--educated, materially independent, strong spiritually and physically--does not need anyone's sympathy! Yes, of course, I know that many women dream of getting married, at times at the cost of an unworthy struggle and self-humiliation. And it is a good thing in addition if it is to someone you love and, as it happens, to some you do not love a lot. But, believe me, that is far from everything! If only because we see how many lonely women are married and how painful this lonely together is. A condescendingly compassionate attitude toward a woman's being alone, which has been elevated to the rank of a moral principle, is also harmful for the fact that it somehow inadvertently and undeservedly elevates men only because they are men. And there will be no end to this while not only gossips in the yard, but also serious specialists exaggerate this theme."

And this is not even the bluntest of the letters written, if I may say so, by confirmed single women who compare their own position in life with the status of married girl friends and consider themselves to be the winner in literally everything.

He. I caught your reservation "at first glance," but is this not really the case? The unmarried woman most often looks better, younger than her age, she dresses better, takes better care of herself. The problem of the unmarried woman being overweight, which is very agonizing for many of our ladies, is solved automatically: most likely she does not buy as much food, it is simpler for her to stick to a reasonable diet, she is not too lazy to do exercises and has time to take a swim in the pool. The unmarried woman is most often more communicative, more witty, better informed, educated. This is both an opportunity and an objective need--it is necessary to fill the evening with something--and to some extent a weapon in the struggle of life. Would you meet many married women, say, at the exhibition "The Art of the East"? I understand, household strains are to blame, it would be a sin to blame women, but a fact is a fact. And it is the exact same thing at the theater, on the ski track, at the skating rink, on the tourist cruise, in courses (from dressmaking to the English language), at the university of culture.

She. You judge these advantages like a man—you take into account purely external details which, moreover, most impress you personally.

He. By all means, I am ready to change my point of view. Are there not in the status of unmarried women also some advantageous things from the point of view of society? An unmarried woman is often a more disciplined worker than a married woman. She works with greater efficiency, a career worries her more, she is more responsive to the effect of material stimuli. All this, I wish to emphasize, is without regard to whether or not she has a child. Unmarried women are promoted more often to a management job and handle it better, they are more suitable in business practice, and at times simply irreplaceable—whether they must go on a business trip, especially for a long time, must work overtime, must be on duty on a holiday.

She. Well, so that is it, but unmarried women no longer consider this in any way to be their advantage! They feel slighted both by the authorities and by their married fellow working women, and due to this additional tension arises in collectives.

He. But how the tone of the male portion of the collective rises from merely the presence of unmarried women! Men understand that they are men, more gentlemen, knights appear....

She. It would probably be rather useful for you to look at the life of an unmarried woman through her eyes:

"Every young woman dreams of having her own home, a comfortable family hearth. Can one really live in a dormitory till the age of 40 deprived of this happiness? You must agree this is terrible."

"A single person always feels his deprivation, but where will I find a husband, if I work in a female collective and from work rush home like mad, since I have a school-aged son?"

"I live in a dormitory, here the fate and sorrow of single women are visible as nowhere else. The will of chance united 15 girls under one roof. Seven years have passed, they have turned, one could say, into old maids. What has changed in their life? The despair that it will always be this way has appeared. You automatically begin to envy those who in these 7 years have been able to bear a child, or else two. Why have I been deprived of this happiness? Due to my gentle disposition at 20? Or due to my serious appearance at 25? But all the same this is so unfair!"

"No one would say about me that I am lonely. There is enough time for everything I want to do—to go to the theater, to play volleyball, to get a group ready for a trip, to help an ill girl friend. But, when I am left quite alone with my thoughts, I clearly sense that no lively way of life is a substitute for family happiness."

"After my divorce I was never able to form a family, I have no children, although I am already 32 and ardently want to have a family, to become a mother...."

In spite of everything, it is impossible not to take into account these personal sufferings, which are spoken about here, and spoken about, I beg you to note, tersely, with the utmost restraint, they are not a confession to a beloved girl friend, but a letter to strangers, to the editorial board of a newspaper! Can you really

not sense that this deep emotional despondency cannot but influence both the atmosphere of society and even production efficiency?

He. Then let us pose the question in a different way: are we helping both these and many other women? All this gossip: the status of the unmarried woman, the problems of the unmarried woman, the drama of the unmarried woman.... You would not, after all, deny that they condense, compress negative emotions exceedingly. Let us recall if only just the campaign in defense of acquaintance clubs, nothing more. Many recognized authorities appeared on the pages of newspapers, and, of course, each one who appeared, as he could, attempted to strengthen his arguments, to touch the most sensitive spots in the reader's soul. But what happened as a result? Many women, who had somehow made a living for themselves, had somehow adapted themselves to their fate, suddenly discovered that everyone feels sorry for them, everyone feels pity for them, everyone weeps for them....

She. ...although if a woman at the given moment is not married, this does not mean that it will always be that way. Unfortunately, it also happens the other way round.

Take a look, for example, at how the fortune of the generation of women, to which I myself belong, is developing. The bitter lot of our older sisters has passed us: we have not experienced a shortage of eligible bachelors. In 1959, that is, at the age of 20-25, half of the women of my own age were already married. After another 10 years, 85 percent were.

But now another 10 years have passed, and there are more unmarried women in our generation, this is evident even without statistics. In 1977 153,000 women, as demographers express themselves intellectually, "left marriage." A year later 160,000 did. Including 118,000 and 120,000 after 10 or more years of living together.

But simultaneously with this, at the same time as this in all recent times more than 100,000 40-year-old women have been getting married annually! For many (the count also comes to the tens of thousands) this is the first marriage in their life. And from year to year in our generation more and more women are marrying men younger than themselves. At times considerably younger.

He. If the press sets itself this task--to help people in organizing their personal fate, it must begin, obviously, not with pity, not with compassion. First of all an objective analysis is needed: what is happening in the modern family and around it? And one must not be afraid to go too far in this: healthy criticism is much more useful to the family than the glossing over of the acute problems which are arising today in its development.

It is also very important, from what standpoint the press makes this analysis: from the point of view of the past or the point of view of the future? Does the journalist discern the changes which have occurred in daily life? Is he able to differentiate current moral norms from the obsolete stereotypes of marital morals, which have become hypocritical and have become divorced from the practical experience of life?

Recently the writer Vladimir Krupin published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA an entire series of articles devoted to problems of the family. The tonality of these articles,

from my observations, is typical of many organs of the press. The author senses the increasing public interest in the problems of the family and in general correctly notes the "sore spots." But the misfortune is that his heart is controlled entirely by the ideals of those times, when women went about with long braids, when children were raised not in accordance with medical instructions, but in accordance with popular omens, while parents chose brides for their sons: "They are more experienced, they knew their son and his character well, they saw what kind of girl was a match for him"--well, are we not fools that we do not abide by this remarkable custom! How good it was before and how bad it has now become--here is the inspiration of all the arguments of Vladimir Krupin, all his categorical (like a court sentence) assertions. Sex education is "a delusion which borders on savagery," "about tourist cruises I can personally say just one thing--I do not like them and refuse to understand them," "there is no reason, of course, to marry before serving in the army".... So you expect that in the next line it will be written: "A wife should be frightened of her husband...."

Of course, from there, from hoary antiquity, much in the actions of modern people must seem like "a delusion which borders on savagery." And in particular, the stand of those women who speak about bad husbands: "Better none than such a one." Here a young woman, his former pupil in addition, explains to the author why she decided to get a divorce: "To him nothing at all of mine was interesting, if only he were always with his friends." Is it not really a convincing explanation? But V. Krupin pays no heed to it, considering it, apparently, to be absurd, and begins to depict before "dear Olya" the consequences of her action, which are ruinous both for herself and for her child. "Now I have been, and not just once, in corrective labor colonies. Can you picture these expanses enclosed by fences? Can you picture these shorn children?... I have skimmed through many cases, and what we all heap upon vodka is the consequence, and not the cause, the cause lies in the absence of the father.

"'Why are you being that way?' Olya said and began to cry.

"And the little boy in the carriage, as if sensing that his mommy was feeling bad, also began to cry.

"'Why are you frightening me?'"

And indeed, why?

No matter how observant a person is, no matter how rich experience in life he has, if he does not sense in what the strength, in what the advantages of modern family relations lie, he will also hardly be able to understand their intricacies. All the more to understand why a significant portion of the people renounce the family and prefer the "free" way of life to the family way of life. But this is truly one of the most complicated modern problems. Do we know really in detail why this happens, with what it is connected, in the future will such sentiments grow stronger or, on the contrary, grow weaker?

She. As for women, the question of what way of life do they prefer frequently does not even arise, fate decides everything for them.

The 1970 census showed that "at the ages of 30 and over an army of nearly 27 million 'marriageable women' opposed 4 million 'eligible bachelors'"--I am quoting an article of A. Sinel'nikov from the collection "Stabil'nost' sem'i kak sotsial'naya problema" /Family Stability as a Social Problem/, which was published in 1978 by the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Sociological Research and the Soviet Sociological Association. Calculate the real chance of each of the "marriageable women" to form her own family! Such detailed information has not been published since the last census. It is only known that the percentage of unmarried people has increased, and the majority of them are women. And there is another objective testimony of statistics: until recently the family consisting of three people was the most prevalent, now it is the family consisting of two people. Often it is a woman and her child.

He. But life is not a statistical table in which the figures are lined up by fixed columns! It is possible not to know each other while living at the same doorway, and to get acquainted 1,000 versts from home, on a business trip or at a health resort.

Trace the fate of an unmarried woman, and you will see that in the past she most likely had a real opportunity to get married. But she did not take advantage of it. Yes, indeed, precisely as it is stated in the letter which you quoted: she preferred her own unmarried life to "just any" family. Among the present generation of women the ideals of family life are exceptionally high. They need not simply a "legal" companion in life, but a friend who understands everything, is strong, brave, independent--a real man. Such as, for example, A. Batalov's hero Gosha in the film "Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears." And the success of the film once more convinces me of this.

No, if it is also difficult for many women to form a family, it is not a matter of statistics alone.

We do not always, it seems to me, think about the fact that the family cannot be as it was 20, even 10 years ago. The rhythm of life, the pace, the psychological and physical strains--all this takes such a large amount of emotional strength that only a special atmosphere in the family can bring the necessary emotional relief. I am convinced that the more strongly a person, it is all the same whether it is a man or a woman, is enthusiastic about his job, the more this affects the demands which he makes on his family. And these are first of all the demands of spiritual unity, mutual understanding and mutual support.

Have you ever happened to be at cooperative garages on a Saturday, a Sunday? How many men there are there, and what happy hours these are in their life! Each one without fail makes himself a room in a corner. On the walls instead of dirt and spots of grease there are veneer, lath, there are comfort, beauty. Portraits of movie stars, often half dressed, and without fail a teapot, and for sure a radio or tape recorder, and indeed, of course, a place where it is possible to sit down or even lie down.... Wives come, tear down the portraits of the girls with their hair down, take the teapot, reduce the part of the budget, which the husband was allowed to spend on his car "hobby," fall upon him with reproaches: "At home the faucet is leaking, but you disappear here!" Watch, in a short time everything is again in its places--both the teapot and the pictures.... I often think, when looking at men, that these people need a family home of a completely different type and image than

their own. A home where they would be able to arrange life in their own way and to their own taste.

Even television is undermining the foundations of the old family--a closed little world, and we have already recognized this. The husband in front of the television is a stereotype which it is already improper to use. But how often women, who complain that you cannot get a husband away from the television, realize that by this they are giving themselves a murderous description! One must not use the term "lack of spirituality." What would our television be good for, if it did not provide a person with spiritual food? And one must not repeat after the wife that the husband, she says, is not interested in anything except television. Is this fair, if he does not go to bed until he sees the evening edition of "Today in the World"?

If only someone of us had studied the modern version of the fatal triangle--husband, wife and television!

She. There is also another version of the "fatal triangle": she, he and the bottle.

He. It is possible to count many triangles. Work, sports, interests, about which we have already spoken, act as the rivals of wives. But does it not seem to you that they have common roots? In my practical experience as a journalist there have been instances when I have wanted to say to a woman: where is your self-esteem, my dear woman, and where is your female strength, if you permit the bottle to outweigh your love and attractiveness?

And precisely for this reason I most often think that constant presence in the midst of a considerable number of unmarried women favorably influences both married men and the situation in the family.

When a woman needed a breadwinner and a protector, she could forgive a man his rudeness, tactlessness and callous egoism. But it is not necessary to support our women materially, they can themselves protect whomever you like. The authors of the letters, with which you acquainted me, are dreaming not simply of a family; they are dreaming of family happiness. And do we have the right to urge them to agree to less?

Let us ponder what is happening before our eyes. We--both society as a whole and each person on the scale of his personal fate--are building a new model of the family. And I am thoroughly convinced that in this complicated, in many ways contradictory, at times tormenting search the unmarried woman plays the role of a factor of progress. For precisely the woman is much more often than we realize the real creator of relations. It is not he who did not choose her, rather she did not choose him. It was not he who left her, rather she preferred to get a divorce if he turned out to be an unworthy husband! Do you believe that such raps on the nose pass without leaving a trace?

What we call the feminization of men is repugnant to unmarried women, and they fight against it, they value purely male qualities and help to firmly establish them.

She. Hence, long live the unmarried woman?

He. Yes, let her live long. And let her be happy. But we should at the least not disturb her. Although, I am sure, we can in many ways also help substantially. And first of all cease to feel ashamed of showing the marital status of our heroines, no matter what it may be, cease to pity and intimidate.

She. You are probably reasoning correctly, but this is some too abstract, "superhuman" correctness. Let us return to what the conversation began with--to the excerpts from newspapers and journals, to the letters, advertisements, to the heroines of feature and documentary films. To the women who in silence or even without hiding this expect a miracle. I am afraid that it is difficult to comfort them with the fact that they are a "factor of progress."

He. But they must not be comforted. They must be helped to adapt to the life situation, in which many--you yourself showed this very clearly--have been fated to live their life. And this position seems to me to be even not simply the most humanistic, but also the most optimistic under today's conditions, when we are only beginning to control demographic processes.

I believe that our press should take precisely such a position. I assure you that we will not prevent the women, who have been fated to this, from meeting a worthy man, from forming a happy family, from raising healthy and happy children with their husband. On the other hand, we will help others to compensate in some way for what they have been deprived of by the will of circumstances. The range of joys accessible to a person is sufficiently abundant! And indeed, at any rate, it is necessary to eliminate from newspaper vocabulary the term "the absence of a father," which has lost its old meaning and has not found a new one.

Well, judge for yourself which is better: if women live by this very expectation of a miracle, becoming more and more despondent and hopeless (the years pass, you have no place to go), or if they find with what assistance we can give the opportunity to live a full-fledged, meaningful, joyful life? And will this really be a hindrance to the pursuit of the demographic policy, to the struggle for its goals, which are dictated equally by the interests of both the country and millions of individual citizens? In my opinion, it is just the other way round.

She. Yes, unfortunately, in one thing you are certainly correct: there are no such measures which could solve the problem of unmarried women as a whole. But it is possible to help very many one at a time. And how fortunate it is when a miracle nevertheless happens and a family appears! Therefore, I believe, the assistance of the press should be very specific, very effective. Marriage announcements--fine! Acquaintance clubs--let them be more numerous, more accessible, for so far there has been much more talk than practical action. But can the press really do little to strengthen the foundations of family life? Both on the moral level, by promoting family values, the advantages of the family way of life, and on the purely everyday level. For this is also one of the specific modern paradoxes: previously only the family was able to provide a person with a respectable existence, but now it is simpler, easier and in many ways more pleasant to live alone.

But the main thing is to promote more actively by all the means, which are characteristic of our occupation, the quickest possible implementation of the measures which were outlined by the party and are aimed at the strengthening of the family and the well-being of the woman, both married and unmarried.
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POPULATION, PARTY'S DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY

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[Article by V. Perevedentsev: "The Population and the Party's Demographic Policy"]

[Text] The scientific leadership of society necessarily includes--as its organic component part--purposeful activity in regulating the dynamics of the country's population. The significance of an effective demographic policy was especially noted at the 26th party congress which outlined a system of measures directed toward the solution of population problems.

The goal of this article is to show the essence of today's demographic problems, their connection with the development of the country's national economy, and the possibilities for their solution with the aid of an effective demographic policy.

In analyzing the specific demographic situation from the standpoint of national economic problems facing society, it is necessary to distinguish its two aspects. One of them is connected with the status of labor resources, and the other--with the reproduction of the country's population. Let us begin with the first of them.

As is known, the national economy of the USSR constantly developed under the conditions of a rapid growth in labor resources (the only exception is the first half of the 1960's when the thinly-populated generation which was born in 1942-1946 became part of the worker increase). Now, the country faces the prospect of its sharp reduction. The increase in the population of able-bodied age in the last, 10th Five-Year Plan was 11.2 million people, and in the 11th which has begun it will be reduced to 3.3 million while in the 12th Five-Year Plan it will be even less.

These figures were obtained from a calculation in which women from 16 to 55 and men from 16 to 60 years of age were included in the population of able-bodied age. Meanwhile, at present people begin their labor activity on the average at an age of about 20 years and end it somewhat later than the time for going on a pension. Therefore, the time limits of 20 and 60 years, evidently, correspond to today's actual conditions in determining the beginning and end of work in the national economy. In this case, the increase in the population of "working age" in the last 30 years of our century will be characterized by such figures (Table 1).

Table 1. Increase in Population of the USSR in the Age from 20 to 60 Years

Years	Increase in Five Years	
	Million People	Percent
1971-1975	8.5	7.0
1976-1980	13.8	10.6
1981-1985	7.7	5.4
1986-1990	-1.0	-0.6
1991-1995	4.2	2.8
1996-2000	1.5	1.0

As we see, the last third of our century is clearly divided into two equal parts. During the first 15 years the increase in the population of working age will be 30 million people, and during the last 15 years--less than 5 million. In other words, our country will change from the development of the national economy under conditions of a constant large increase in labor resources to development with the virtual absence of an increase. Clearly, this situation cannot be changed by any demographic measures. All those who will cross the lower limit of the working age prior to the end of the century have already been born. Unquestionably, any measures directed toward an increase in the birth rate and the reproduction of the population will affect the numbers of the labor resources, but only in the next century.

What is the reason for the enormous increase in the population of working age in the last, 10th Five-Year Plan and its decrease in the 12th Five-Year Plan (1986-1990)? What are the reasons for the 15-million difference in the increase between these five-year plans?

In the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the most populous generation in the history of our country, which was born in the second half of the 1950's, entered the worker age and the generation which was born in 1916-1920, that is, during World War I, the revolution, the Civil War, and economic dislocation, left the working age; from the very beginning it was relatively small and, in addition, suffered especially large losses in the years of the Great Patriotic War. The numerical strength of those entering the worker age and the small number of those leaving it also provided a huge, almost 14 million increase in the population of working age in the 10th Five-Year Plan. There had never been such an increase earlier.

But in the 12th Five-Year Plan a relatively small generation of those born in the second half of the 1960's will enter the worker age, while the large generation of those born in the second half of the 1920's, when the country experienced the period of the "demographic explosion," will leave it.

This circumstance requires the most fixed attention, and it is not by chance that among the factors which are complicating our economic development in the 1980's Comrade L. I. Brezhnev named at the 26th party congress first of all the reduction in the increase in labor resources. "Under conditions of the 1980's," he stressed, "special significance is acquired by a careful, economic attitude toward labor resources. This is a difficult matter which requires the solution of many problems of an economic, technical, social, and indoctrinational nature."

We recall that up to now our national income increased in considerable measure due to an increase in the size of the population occupied in the production branches of the national economy.

The situation is changing radically in the 1980's. Now, under conditions of a sharp reduction in the increase in labor resources a further increase in national income depends almost completely on the increase in the productivity of labor in the national economy. Special attention was devoted to this circumstance by the 26th CPSU Congress which stressed that a typical feature of the new five-year plan should consist of an outstripping growth in the final national-economic results in comparison with an increase in labor and material expenditures. In the 11th Five-Year Plan, it is planned to obtain at least an 85-90 percent increase in national income through an increase in the productivity of labor. This requires, in particular, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, improvement in the structure of public production, improvement of planning and control, and a rise in the level of management.

The decrease in the increase in labor resources makes urgent the task of the efficient use of work force reserves everywhere and the attainment of a balance of available workplaces with labor resources in each region of the country. The complexity of this task is aggravated by the fact that in the 1980's there will be a sharp increase in the disproportion between individual regions from the standpoint of the relative size of the increase in the work force. A considerable reduction in the labor resources of the RSFSR, in the Ukraine, in Latvia, and in Estonia is expected in the 12th Five-Year Plan while a huge increase in them will occur in Central Asia and Azerbaijan.

There is now a surplus of labor resources in Central Asia, the Transcaucasus, and a number of rayons of the North Caucasus, especially in the village. And this surplus will grow if a number of measures directed toward the more efficient use of work force reserves are not implemented in good time. In this connection, the summary report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress stressed the necessity to involve the population of these places more actively in the development of new territories of the country and develop the production works here which are necessary for the national economy and are capable of absorbing the available surplus of the work force. The creation of workplaces where a surplus labor force is expected, and migration of the population to rayons with a surplus of workplaces--these are two ways which permit attaining an efficient, balanced use of labor resources in the contemporary demographic situation.

The settlement of regions for new economic development is the most important demographic problem the solution of which permits placing the richest natural resources of Siberia and the Far East at the service of the people and the more efficient placement of productive forces on the country's territory. It should be said that much was done in this regard in preceding years. Thus, in the Khanty-Mansiyskiy National Okrug, where a vigorous petroleum-extracting industry has been created in a very short time, the population has grown five-fold in the last 20 years. However, there are also big shortcomings in providing the regions of the North and the East with labor resources, the chief one of which is the high migration mobility of the new settlers and their rapid departure to other regions of the country, which has an adverse effect on the productivity of labor and on the success of economic development of new territories.

A rather effective system for attracting the population to regions of economic development has now been created (factors applied to wages, long vacations, reservation of housing at places of arrival, and so forth). However, the system created for holding new settlers is not so effective. It is necessary to achieve a situation in which people would travel to newly developed territories not only to earn, but also to live. And for this, it is necessary to offer the migrants a complex of living conditions which are not inferior in their comfort and attractiveness to regions with the old settlement.

The higher rates of construction of housing and the entire social and cultural complex in the regions of new economic development outlined by the 26th party congress and improvement in supplying the population with consumer goods will permit the more successful solution of the problems in their settlement even under those complicated demographic conditions which will be typical of the 1980's. It is now a matter for the economic leaders who at times regard problems of social development as something secondary and collateral in comparison with problems in increasing productive capacities. Therefore, the following recommendation was heard at the congress in good time: to consider reports from the localities concerning the putting of new industrial installations into operation valid only if the program for housing and cultural and domestic construction envisioned by the plan is also accomplished at the installation.

The problem of the migration of the rural population to the cities is just as acute a demographic problem from the standpoint of the efficient use of available labor resources. Over the nine years between censuses of the population of 1970 and 1979, the village lost 15.6 million people through migration and administrative reforms, which was 56.5 percent of the entire increase in the city population during this time. During these years, the rural population was reduced from 105.7 million to 98.8 million, that is, by 6.9 million people. However, these processes proceeded far from uniformly in various regions. In some places, especially, for example, in the non-Chernozem region, the rural population decreased rapidly while it grew rapidly in others. In some places of the non-Chernozem region, the rural population was cut in half during the 20 years after the 1959 census while it increased by three fourths or more in a number of republics of Central Asia. Meanwhile, there was no shortage of labor resources in the rural localities of Central Asia even earlier, while there was no surplus of them in the non-Chernozem region. The huge outflow of population from the village created great difficulties in the economic and social development of the non-Chernozem region which were aggravated by the fact that it was primarily the youth which was leaving the village and primarily its best educated and best qualified portion.

Thus, the processes of migration of the rural population are now in clear contradiction to the requirements of the efficient use of labor resources: people leave primarily those places where there is no one to work as it is and virtually do not leave where a surplus of labor force is felt. Therefore, it is important to implement measures in the field of migration of the rural population in a differentiated manner. Migration of the rural population should be encouraged by all forces where there is a surplus of labor resources and it should not be hampered, as often happens. In particular, it is expedient to set as one of the goals of migration policy the attainment of a situation in which the outflow of population from the villages of Central Asia would equal its natural increase. For this, it is necessary not only

to accelerate the introduction of new worker places in the cities of Central Asia, but also to do important work in preparing the rural youth for resettlement in the cities and to assist it in the resettlement itself and in socio-psychological adaptation to the city, city types of labor, and the city way of life.

Unquestionably, the system of measures worked out by the party which are directed toward the intensification of public production and the efficient, balanced distribution of labor force reserves will permit weakening the adverse influence of the sharp reduction in the increase of labor resources on the country's economic development. However, something else is just as obvious: accomplishment of the same measures under conditions of the unceasing expansion of labor resources would permit orienting on higher rates of economic development in the 1980's.

Therefore, using judiciously the labor resources which are available today, at the same time we should think about tomorrow, about the formation of more favorable demographic conditions in the future. Now, when the generation is being born which will come to public production at the beginning of the next century, a deeply reasoned and comprehensively substantiated system of measures which ensures optimum--from the standpoint of prospects for economic and social development--parameters for reproduction of the population is needed. The party attaches primary significance to these questions. "In accordance with the instructions of the 25th party congress," it is noted in the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress, "the Central Committee devoted serious attention to the working out and implementation of an effective /demographic policy/ [in boldface] and to population problems which have become aggravated recently. The main path for their solution is intensification of concern for the family and newly married couples, and primarily for women."

In moving on to questions of the birth rate and reproduction of the population, let us direct our attention first of all to the content of several concepts which are used in demography.

We should clearly distinguish the increase in population, on the one hand, and its reproduction on the other. As is known, up to now the increase in the population in our country is very significant, its absolute annual values exceed two million people, and the relative increase is higher than in the majority of the other economically developed countries of the world although it dropped from 1.78 percent in 1960 to 0.79 in 1980. On this basis, the question is posed at times: but do we need an increase in the birth rate in general? However, the increase in population is only the preponderance of the number of births over the number of deaths. Its indices depend to a very high degree on the structure of the population. It is clear that primarily young women give birth to children, and primarily old people die. In particular, nevertheless the high increase in the country's population is determined by the fact that the populous generation of women born in the 1950's is now at the age of the greatest birth rate (19-29 years) while our share of elderly (60-74) and old (more than 75) people is still relatively small (in comparison, for example, with the countries of Western Europe). The adverse consequences of the low birth rate will be discovered when this populous generation grows old and making up the natural decrease in population will lay on the shoulders of its comparatively few descendents.

The indices of population reproduction are free of special situation features of this type. Reproduction of the population is replacement of the parent generation by the children's generation. If for the replacement of 1,000 women of the parent's generation there are 1,000 of their daughters who lived to the maternal age (that is, if the net reproduction coefficient equals 1), this will be the simple replacement of the generation, simple reproduction. If there are more than 1,000 daughters, reproduction will be expanded, and if less--narrowed. The country's population will cease to grow with constant simple reproduction, the number of births and deaths is balanced, and the age structure does not change. In this case, the fraction of elderly and old people proves to be relatively large. With narrowed reproduction of the population its size begins to drop after a time and the fraction of elderly and old people increases.

What are the indices of population reproduction in our country and what are their dynamics?

Our net population reproduction coefficient varied, beginning with the pre-war period, as follows: 1938-1939--1.44, 1958-1959--1.26, 1968-1969--1.11, 1978-1979--approximately 1.04. In other words, about 1,260 children came to replace 1,000 people of the parent generation with the birth and death rate indices at the end of the 1950's, and about 1,040 at the end of the 1970's. As we see, the reproduction of the USSR population is expanded nevertheless, but it is already close to simple reproduction. A reduction of its indices also caused the rapid aging of the population, that is, an increase in the fraction of those who are past 60 in its composition: in 1939--6.8 percent, in 1959--9.4, in 1970--11.8, and in 1975--13.3 percent.

Non-specialists usually believe that the aging of the population is the result of an increase in the mean duration of life. However, this is not so. The aging of the population has occurred up to now solely due to a reduction in the birth rate. An increase in the mean duration of life (from 47 years in 1938-1939 to 70 in the middle of the 1960's) occurred primarily due to a reduction in the death rate in the younger ages, especially the children's ages.

The conditions for reproduction of the population changed radically in our country in comparison with the pre-war period. This is easily seen with the comparison of the so-called age coefficients of the birth rate (Table 2)

Table 2. Number of Births per 1,000 Women of a Given Age

Age, Years	1938-1939	1958-1959	1978-1979
15-19	32.8	29.2	39.4
20-24	214.4	162.2	174.6
25-29	230.6	164.8	125.6
30-34	183.5	110.1	72.1
35-39	131.7	66.6	31.9
40-44	68.1	24.1	11.7
45-49	19.0	5.0	1.6
15-49	139.5	88.7	69.9

Before the war, the birth rate was very high among women in the young years, remained high after 30, and even women past 40 had rather many births. This is the traditional, "rural," type of birth rate. By now, as we see, the birth rate has dropped in all ages except the youngest. The peak of the birth rate shifted to the age group of from 20-24 years, after which the birth rate begins to drop swiftly. This is the modern, "city," type of birth rate.

Let us turn our attention to one more important circumstance. If, in the pre-war years almost half the children were born to mothers after the age of 30, now such children are only one fourth. Now, the reproduction of the population is provided by the youth, the young family. This circumstance must be considered from the standpoint of ensuring conditions for the upbringing of children in young families as well as in the plan for stimulating the birth rate in familes of a more mature age.

The indices presented in Table 2 are average for the country. Meanwhile, the situation is far from identical in various union republics. The weakly expanded reproduction for the country as a whole is provided by the republics of Central Asia and Azerbaijan where the birth rate is high. In the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Latvia, and Estonia the reproduction of the population has narrowed long ago, that is, fewer children are born here than are needed for the simple quantitative replacement of the parent generation and, recently, it has become narrowed even in Belorussia and Lithuania. Thus, the population is not being reproduced in the republics where about four-fifths of the country's entire population lives.

The reproduction indices are now dropping rapidly for the majority of the union republics. This is indicated by the so-called gross reproduction coefficients which are presented in Table 3 (in which the death rate is not considered). For the country on the average, the difference between the gross and net coefficients is 0.07. If we consider that in the RSRSR this difference is the same as for the country as a whole, the net coefficient for the reproduction of its population at the end of the 1970's was about 0.86, that is, about 860 children arrived to replace 1,000 people of the parent generation. With the maintenance of such indices the population of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, and the Baltic region will soon begin to decrease. This was approached closest of all by Latvia where the natural increase in 1979 was equal to one person per 1,000 residents as against 8.1 for the country on the average and 30.1 in Tajikistan. However, in the 1970's the population reproduction indices also began to drop in Central Asia (in three of its four republics). It is obvious that the demographic development of Central Asia will proceed in approximately the same way as in Azerbaijan where the reproduction indices are being reduced.

Just what reproduction indices does the country need? On what must we orient in determining our demographic prospects? There is no doubt that the narrowed reproduction is unfavorable from all standpoints including economic. A simple quantitative replacement of the generation--that is the objective boundary which cannot be crossed without serious undesirable consequences. Therefore, the demographic program-minimum can be the preservation of the existing reproduction conditions for the country as a whole, which means the necessity to increase the reproduction indices in a number of republics (the European part of the USSR) because a drop in these indices in a number of republics (Central Asia) is inevitable.

Table 3. Gross Coefficients of Population Reproduction

Country	1958-1959	1969-1970	1978-1979
RSFSR	1.27	0.97	0.93
The Ukraine	1.14	1.00	0.96
Belorussia	1.36	1.13	1.00
Uzbekistan	2.45	2.76	2.48
Kazakhstan	2.16	1.62	1.47
Georgia	1.25	1.28	1.12
Azerbaijan	2.43	2.27	1.70
Lithuania	1.27	1.15	1.01
Moldavia	1.73	1.26	1.16
Latvia	1.08	0.94	0.91
Kirghizia	2.09	2.37	2.15
Tajikistan	2.92	2.89	2.91
Armenia	2.29	1.57	1.20
Turkmenia	2.48	2.90	2.57
Estonia	0.94	1.05	0.98
USSR	1.36	1.18	1.11

But how many children in the family are needed for simple reproduction? With the present marriage level and death rate by age it is necessary that there be approximately 260 births for each 100 families which can have children. Why namely 260, and not 200 as is often thought? Because not all women get married, because not all can have children for physiological reasons, because more boys than girls are born, and because not all girls live to the age of their mothers when they gave birth to daughters. In other words, simple reproduction would be ensured if 60 families out of 100 had three children each and 40 had two each. But since many families have only one child each, it is necessary that there be more three-children families or that there be comparatively many fourth and subsequent children.

However, from the economic standpoint expanded rather than simple reproduction of the population is expedient. According to available calculations, optimum from the economic standpoint is reproduction with a net coefficient equal approximately to 1.2 For this, on the average a three-child family is necessary.

As we see, decisive significance in the reproduction of the population is had by the third child in the family, the truly "decisive third." We note that there cannot even be a fourth one without the third. Meanwhile, the share of the third and subsequent children drops very rapidly. If in the middle of the 1960's the third and subsequent children were 38 out of 100 new-born children, in 1972 they were 32, in 1975--26, and in 1979--only 23. In the large cities of the European part of the country, three children in the family became a rarity.

From all this it follows that there now exists an urgent necessity to stimulate the birth of the third child in the family among the population in every possible way. However, certain demographic directions have formed among a large portion of the population in accordance with which the family does not need the third child. What stands objectively behind these directions, behind the "psychology of few children?"

This is a difficult question, even if it seems simple to some. It is often considered that it is a matter of three things: level of income, housing conditions, and children's pre-school institutions. Here, somehow it is lost from view that these factors should be approached with consideration of historic conditions. Thus, at the end of the 1950's when the birth rate was close to optimum, income was much lower, housing conditions were worse, and children's pre-school institutions were much fewer than now. But there can be no comparison with the prewar years. Demographers have known long and well about the feedback between the level of material well-being and the number of children in a family: the higher the level of income for a given stratum of the population (other conditions being equal), the fewer the children in that stratum. Non-specialists are looking for the drop in the birth rate "somewhere else."

The matter is not primarily that additional obstacles appeared which forced many to refrain from the birth of one more child, but that former stimuli which determined the mass psychological direction toward many children disappeared. At the basis of shifts which occurred in the "demographic psychology" lie, paradoxically, the great achievements of our society in the demographic, economic, and social fields: a sharp reduction in the death rate in general and of the children's death rate in particular; a change in the economic relations of generations in the family; a tremendous rise in the level of education; the universal attraction of women to social production; and the high status of women in the national economy and their business orientation. Let us speak briefly about these reasons and the mechanism of their action.

Until relatively recently, parents with few children were afraid to be left alone in their old age because the death rate was high in general, and that of children in particular. Not even mentioning the pre-revolution time, back in 1940 of 1,000 newborn 182 died in the first year of life. The tremendous achievements of medicine and the comprehensive improvement in living conditions led to where child mortality dropped by an entire order of magnitude since those times, dropping approximately to 25 cases per 1,000 newly born children. And at a youthful age the death rate became totally insignificant. Now parents were soundly convinced that even a single child will survive them, the parents. But one of the very strong incentives for a relatively large number of children thereby disappeared.

Formerly, children were the lone benefactors of parents in their old age and the guarantee of a comparatively secure old age. Now elderly and old people live primarily on a pension. So that this economic incentive for a high birth rate also disappeared. We note that the present system of pension security which embraces almost all elderly and old people was introduced comparatively recently, in 1956.

The swift rise in our educational level is generally known. Now virtually the entire youth receives a secondary education as a minimum. Meanwhile, the close feedback between the educational level and the birth rate has been known long and well.

The difference between men and women from the standpoint of the degree of their involvement in social production, virtually disappeared. This phenomenon is also rather new: back in 1928 no more than one third worked outside the home among the city-dwellers. In addition, women occupied an exceptionally high position in the public economy. The best evidence of this is the predominance of women among the Soviet intelligentsia: of every 10 specialists of the national economy, six are women.

And among many of them, the dominant position in the system of life's values is occupied namely by business-like interests which have substantially crowded the interests connected with motherhood. In addition, we note that among working women--and don't many of them now work?!--the total work load (at work and at home) with which the third child is had is a physically difficult matter.

Unquestionably, the total work overload of women has an adverse effect on the birth rate level. I recall that the birth rate was reduced most rapidly when the intensified attraction of women to social production occurred, and this circumstance itself was not compensated to a sufficient degree by the development of the sphere of services and other ways (the 1960's).

Finally, unquestionably the birth rate is strongly influenced by the change from the traditional large patriarchal family with the unquestionable supremacy of the husband and the clear division of the family roles of the husband and wife to the modern "biarchal" family with the approximate equality of the husband and wife and with the wife engaged in the public economy. However, many men proved not to be psychologically ready for this change; they are disturbed by the centuries-old traditions in accordance with which family work is especially women's work. The different goals of spouses relative to family life, supremacy in the family, the division of duties, and so forth are leading to intrafamily conflicts and dissension, weakening the family, and often end with its break-up. Meanwhile, it is well known that where there are many divorces there are few children.

Under contemporary conditions, searches are being intensified for new incentives to raise the birth rate to replace those which have disappeared or are disappearing. Important tasks are arising to ease the situation of women-mothers and to improve the material conditions of families with several children. These are not simple tasks.

The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers which was published this March, "On measures to intensify state assistance to families which have children," outlined an harmonious system of priority measures which, unquestionably, will play a positive role in raising the birth rate in the country. In particular, great attention in them is devoted to problems of the rational combination of the public and family upbringing of the children. A significant expansion of the network and improvement in the work of children's pre-school institutions, schools with extended-day groups, and so forth is envisioned. Posed here first of all is the task of eliminating their shortage in the next few years in regions with a high level of female employment in public production. Simultaneously, a number of measures are being implemented which permit the working mothers to devote more time to their families and the family upbringing of the children. Thus partially-paid leave to care for a child until the latter reaches the age of one year and additional unpaid leave until a year and a half is being introduced. Broad dissemination should be received by the practice of the work of women in accordance with the regime of a partial working day and a partial work week, in accordance with a sliding scale or at home. The length of the paid period to care for a sick child is also being increased in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Unfortunately, the problem of stimulating a growth in the population is still insufficiently considered for the present in the activity of some economic and public

organs. Now one-child families live appreciably materially better than two-children families, and the latter--than three-children families. As a result of the circumstance that the appearance of each new child automatically leads to an appreciable worsening of the family's material condition, it also often serves as the decisive argument in favor of few children. Obviously, it is necessary to work out and realize a system of rewarding measures which substantially smooth out this disproportion. A specific step in this direction are the decisions of the party and the government which envision the introduction of a one-time grant with the birth of the first child consisting of 50 rubles and of 100 rubles with the birth of the second and third children. In 1981, the size of the state grant to single mothers is being increased. In which regard, all these measures should be considered namely as priority methods and as the start of the conduct of an active demographic policy to raise the birth rate. "Clearly," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in connection with this at the 26th party congress, "we cannot accomplish immediately everything which we would like. But we will persistently seek ways to solve all these problems."

Various suggestions on the solution of demographic problems facing society are now being put forth and are being discussed comprehensively. Many of them appear to be highly effective so that the following question may even arise with the non-specialist: "Why not hurry with their realization?" However, in outlining and substantiating a specific demographic policy we cannot forget about the special complexity and multi-plan nature of the questions connected with the regulation of population growth. Naturally, measures directed toward the solution of demographic problems cannot and must not be implemented at the expense of other vitally important functions of the public organism. The proposed demographic decisions should be organically coordinated and tied in with the entire complex of tasks which arise in the course of society's economic and social development.

In posing the question of society's active influence on raising the birth rate, we cannot orient ourselves on some one, even if significantly important, factor, for example, economic. It is necessary to make more complete use of all incentives and all measures which form the goal of the family at a medium number of children--(3-4 children)--economic, socio-cultural, and psychological. Therefore, in particular, in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On measures to intensify state assistance to families which have children," serious attention is devoted to propagandizing demographic knowledge, the molding of the population's attitude toward problems of childbirth which meet society's interests, and to intensifying educational work to strengthen the family as one of the highest moral values of a socialist society. In particular, a fundamental improvement in preparing the youth for family life is needed.

Demographic policy is an important part of socio-economic policy at the stage of mature communism. The solution of the urgent tasks of our contemporary economic development and the successful building of the material and technical base for communism depend on it to a great extent. The 26th party congress defined the main direction of demographic policy.

There is no doubt that today's acute demographic problems of the country will be solved successfully. There are all the objective conditions for this. Much in the solution of these problems depends on the specific labor collectives and their leaders and party and trade union organizations. The solution of demographic problems is truly a national matter.

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